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THE MEANING OF LIBERATION IN ADULT EDUCATION AS REVEALED BY MOSES COADY AND THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

BY

©

ANNE McDONALD ALEXANDER

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Adult education in Canada evolved as a field within which both social movement and professionalization trends have existed concurrently, generally as competing forces. Current trends in this field tend towards the bureaucratization and professionalization of adult education. Consequently, its strength as a social movement may become jeopardized. Indeed, there has been a continuing debate around the issue of the social role of adult education. Polarities of viewpoints exist among scholars concerning the need for adult education to maintain or to change society. A review of the various frameworks of adult education purposes and philosophies also reveals such a continuum.

In an attempt to understand the meaning of liberation in adult education prior to the field's bureaucratization and professionalization, the writings of Moses Coady, a leader of the Antigonish Movement, were studied. The Antigonish Movement was an adult education movement of the 1930s based at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. This movement, which had a profound influence upon adult education in Canada and around the world, was clearly a social movement with a reform orientation. It was anticipated that gaining an understanding about this social movement would provide a perspective for critiquing the current trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization in adult education.

This study made use of qualitative research methods, specifically using a combination of the thematic content analysis method [adapting the grounded theory method outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967)] and of the historical-critical method. This combination enabled the meaning of Coady's ideas to be interpreted in context.

Coady's meaning of liberation in adult education was that adult education should unlock life for all the people, involve real thinking and enable people to live fully. Thus, he advocated changing individuals and society. When Coady's ideas were interpreted in the context of his time they revealed their nature as providing a critique of society and issuing a challenge to the existing social institutions and systems. Specifically, he promoted a program of adult education and economic cooperation.

Coady's ideas were also examined for the directions they suggest for contemporary adult educators. His ideas were found to challenge contemporary adult educators to serve those most in need, to promote social change through engaging learners in reflection and action, and to work towards securing economic justice. Accordingly, a critique of the trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization in adult education addressed the consequences of these trends for the learners and for achieving Coady's suggested goals of adult education. Specifically, Coady's ideas suggest that the impact of these trends should be assessed regarding who is being served by adult education, how adult education is being conducted, and to what end. Bureaucratization and professionalization (narrowly defined) were considered to be obstacles to serving those most in need of adult education. The need for developing a new model of professionalism was found to be supported by Coady's ideas.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> Take from the altar of the past
> the fire, not the ashes.[1]
> Jean Jaures

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to explore the meaning of liberation in adult education as revealed by Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement of the 1930s. By gaining an understanding of the adult education of this social movement a perspective will be developed for critiquing the current trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization in the field of adult education. In order to carry out this primary task it is necessary to address the related problem of understanding the nature and form of the adult learning experience as a vehicle for personal and social change.

Background to the Problem

"Social change brings pain and costs as well as relief and benefits, perhaps in necessarily equal amounts" (Slater, 1964:77). For centuries, social movements and organizations have sought social reform and have mobilized resources required to meet the basic human needs of the members of society. In some cases, social movements have endeavoured to initiate social change and in other instances social organizations have assisted individuals to cope with the impact of social change. Both the need for future social change and the impact of present social change produce new demands which challenge social service organizations. These organizations must adapt to such challenges or be rendered obsolete. One method which may be employed by social service and adult education organizations for meeting the challenge of change is that of conducting adult education programs. They may be conducted for the purpose of promoting personal and/or social change.

---

[1] This quotation is the epigram for the Canadian Association for Adult Education's 50th Anniversary Celebration, 1985.

Although adult education has a long history as a field of practice, adult education as a field of study is still very young and appears to lack an ideology. Characteristic of young fields, the nature of the research in adult education reflects the stage and corresponding needs of the field's life cycle (Knowles, 1973:298). Doctoral research in Canada has tended to concentrate upon survey, historical and model/tool building/testing research (Draper, 1981:68). Attempts to define research priorities have generated research opportunities but have provided little guidance for determining priorities systematically (Griffith and Roberts, 1981:18). Griffith and Roberts (1981:20) also note that "some adult educators who have surveyed the research in this field believe that there is a continuing need for non-quantitative studies" and specifically identify Brunner and associates as suggesting that the adult education field has grown so rapidly that it has not yet raised many fundamental questions about itself.

Indeed, even when fundamental questions are currently raised, as in Kreitlow's (1981) book *Examining Controversies in Adult Education*, polarities of viewpoints tend to be identified with little attempt to transcend these opposing stances. In particular, the issue "should the adult educator be involved in social intervention?" was dealt with by two adult educators holding diametrically opposing views (Healy, 1981:32-39; Even, 1981:40-44). No perspective was given on the general strength of either tendency within the field of adult education.

A review of the literature, however, indicates that as early as 1926 Lindeman (1926:105) was promoting the idea that adult education does have a role in social change. He predicted that:

> adult education will become an agency of progress if its short-time goal of self improvement can be made compatible with a long-time experimental but resolute policy of changing the social order. Changing individuals in continuous adjustment to changing social functions -- this is the bilateral though unified purpose of adult learning.

Fifty-nine years later the literature reveals that a number of North American and European adult educators have published articles and books which clearly advocate the role of adult education in social change (London, 1973a; Lovett, 1975; McGinnis, 1981; Thompson, 1980; Ziegler, 1976) while other adult educators do not advocate such a role (Paterson, 1973; Lawson, 1975). Apps (1979) identifies this range of opinion regarding whether the purpose of adult education should be focused upon helping individuals grow, develop and achieve self-actualization or be focused upon societal concerns and the need for social change and then suggests that adult education should be guided by the overall goal of improving the quality of life. The four subpurposes he outlines include helping people as individuals acquire survival tools, discover a sense of meaning, and learn how to learn, and helping communities provide a more humane environment for their members (Ibid.:101). Apps is suggesting that both personal change and social change are compatible purposes of adult education. Some other writers do not agree.

With respect to these purposes of individual and social development, Roberts (1982a:9) observes that "the current literature in and about anglophone Canada is so sparse as to make it difficult to detect emphases in this way." His subjective perception, however, after reading these Canadian publications and observing the field, is that Canadian adult education appears to be individualistic and is

> characterized by a blandness, obscured by such notable exceptions of public commitment as the Antigonish Movement and Farm Forum, and the recent program, "People Talking Back" . . . Adult education in Alberta appeared to conform to Sheats' American diagnosis of being establishment-oriented. (Roberts, 1982a:4)

There is a danger, according to Sheats (1970:xxvii), that adult education may discredit itself as a vehicle for social development by such an alignment:

> unless adult education (in the 70's) gets closer to the "action" it will suffer disfunction and the inevitable put-down by more socially relevant institutions.

The role of adult education in fostering personal change is characterized by a similar tension between creating change and adjusting to change. Mezirow (1978:108) suggests that "a crucial dimension of adult development involves a structural reorganization of the way a person looks at himself and his relationships" and that "we have the potentiality of becoming critically aware of our perspectives and of changing them." Critical awareness requires identifying the assumptions which structure interpersonal and social interactions. This awareness can lead to a change in one's relationships with individuals, institutions and ideologies. Mezirow (1978:109) maintains that adult education can play a role in precipitating, facilitating and reinforcing such perspective change as well as implementing action plans.

Indeed, many adult education institutions have provided and continue to provide courses labelled as personal growth, personal awareness and self-actualization events. On the surface such titles may imply the type of perspective change of which Mezirow (1978) speaks. Yet, critics such as Jacoby (1975) and Schur (1976) discern, in these courses, a false sense of personal change as is suggested in the titles of their books, Social Amnesia: A Critique of Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing and The Awareness Trap: Self-absorption Instead of Social Change, respectively. These authors argue that such courses may repress participants' critical thought and engender an uncritical acceptance of social conditions. Any personal change would occur within a socially-engineered process which leads to conformity to the conditions of the status quo.

Given the tension that appears to exist between adult education for creating change and adjusting to change, whether personal or social change, and given the current trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization in the field, a study which examines the meaning of adult education as a liberating process seems to be timely.

Significance of the Problem

Adult education in Canada is developing as a field of social practice characterized by a "shifting balance between adult education as a social movement and as a professional field" (Selman and Kulich, 1980:109). In their article, "Between Social Movement and Profession - A

Historical Perspective on Canadian Adult Education," Selman and Kulich (Ibid.) outline the activities within the field which indicate that "ever since the mid-1930s there has been creative tension between the professionalization trends and the social movement trends." It is interesting to note that these authors assert that commitment to both the social movement tradition and to professionalization is necessary for the field's vitality. They also advocate that the field unite both social movement and professionalization thrusts in its further development (Ibid.:115).

They do not appear to acknowledge the manner in which professionalization may influence thinking about adult education in a normative sense; rather, they describe the relationship between the social movement and professionalization trends as a "shifting balance." Yet, in defining professionalization of the field as

> those elements which have placed emphasis on providing adult education with a sound theoretical base, have emphasized research and the application of scientific standards to methods, materials and the organization of the field and have promoted the need for professional training and staffing (Ibid.:109)

the authors indicate that the potential exists for a scientific rationality to pervade the field quite extensively. Because the social movement aspect of adult education is defined as "all conscious efforts to improve the nature of society by means of adult education and its wider application in the community" (Ibid.), the question must be asked: can the professionalization of adult education ever be considered to be a neutral trend which merely and temporarily shifts the focus of attention away from social movement concerns?

In reflecting upon this question, the issue of adult education as a liberating process must be examined. This is to ensure that the effects that this professionalization trend could have upon adult learners are considered.

Significance of the Study

In exploring the meaning of liberation in adult education as revealed by Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement of the 1930s, this study will attempt to take from the past "the fire"[1] of a dynamic adult educator and social movement. The relevance to contemporary adult educators of reflecting upon the meaning of liberation in Coady's time is suggested by the following excerpt from "A Draft National Declaration on Adult Education" (see Appendix A) prepared recently by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE):

> Fifty years ago, the Canadian Association for Adult Education declared that the adult education movement is based on the belief that quite ordinary men and women have, within themselves and their communities, the spiritual and intellectual resources adequate to the solution of their own problems.
>
> This declaration is even more timely today. Throughout the world, gaps widen between advantaged and disadvantaged, educated and undereducated, rich

---

[1] See epigram on page 1 of this thesis for the full quotation.

> and poor. The rapid pace of change, chronic unemployment, and social unrest threaten. Social justice and human liberation - indeed survival - are far from assured.

That this lack of assurance for social justice and human liberation exists when the field of adult education is becoming professionalized and scholars are still debating its social role makes such reflection crucial to the concerned contemporary adult educator. This study will enable adult educators to consider the relevance of Coady's ideas for our time.

Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into ten chapters, one of which is this introduction. Chapter Two examines the current frameworks which identify the philosophies and purposes that characterize the field of adult education. The underlying concept of liberation is illuminated and the current debate concerning the professionalization of adult education is reviewed. Chapter Three describes the research method used in the study.

In Chapter Four, the life and work of Moses Coady is described. The historical background of Nova Scotia is sketched briefly in Chapter Five. Chapter Six examines the context, development and work of the Antigonish Movement.

Coady's ideas as revealed in his writings are presented in Chapter Seven. Chapter Eight offers an interpretation of Coady's ideas in the context of his time. An exploration of the meaning of Coady's ideas for the present time is presented in Chapter Nine. Chapter Ten summarizes the study, outlining conclusions and recommendations for future study.

CHAPTER 2

Adult Education: Philosophies, Purposes and the Professionalization Debate

This review assesses the status of adult education as a liberating process. In so doing, the following areas are reviewed: philosophies of adult education; purposes of adult education; meanings of liberation; and the debate concerning the professionalization of adult education (with particular attention given to the impact upon the social role).

Philosophies of Adult Education

The work that has been done in the area of the philosophy of adult education has provided different frameworks for viewing the practice of adult education. In one of the earlier books on the subject, Bergevin (1967) strongly advocates the education of the whole person, the involvement of the learner in planning, organizing and implementing adult education and the role of adult education as a vehicle to enhance skills for responsible citizenship. Bergevin does not label this philosophy as do later writers such as Apps (1973), Lawson (1975) and Elias and Merriam (1980). Bergevin's philosophy is labelled as "progressive adult education" by these later writers.

Apps (1973) suggests that the educational philosophies of essentialism, perennialism, progressivism, reconstructionism, and existentialism can provide a starting point for reflection upon one's philosophy as an adult educator. In a similar vein, Elias and Merriam (1980) identify six major systems of educational thought (liberal education, progressivism, behaviourism, humanistic education, radicalism and conceptual analysis) as frameworks for examining the practice of adult education. A number of parallels exist between these two sets of frameworks.

With respect to the use of adult education as a liberating process (including both personal and social dimensions), the philosophies of progressivism, reconstructionism and radical adult education seem to address this issue most directly. Progressivism and progressive adult education have their historical origins in the progressive movement in politics, social change and education (Ibid.:10). Whereas the essentialist and perennialist focus upon subject matter and perpetuating the culture, the progressivist focuses upon the learning process and improving people's life in society (Apps, 1973:22). Progressives' commitment to social action has tended to aim for social reform rather than radical social action and has been described as "education for social change, but always respecting the freedom of individuals to be true to their own convictions and commitments" (Elias and Merriam, 1980:68). Indeed, Elias and Merriam (1980) suggest that only a few adult educators have adopted the social thrust of the progressive education movement and that the majority has tended to focus upon the learner-centredness and method of the progressive approach, leaving the radical adult educators to highlight the social change dimension of adult education (Ibid.:68).

The reconstructionist philosophy of education, as developed by Theodore Brameld, is more concerned with the "ends" of transforming society than is progressivist philosophy (Apps, 1973:23). Reconstructionism is linked to radical adult education through historical roots. Radical adult education has its roots in at least three sources of radical educational thought: the anarchist tradition, the Marxist-Socialist tradition (within which Brameld developed a reconstructionist philosophy) and the Freudian left (Elias and Merriam, 1980:140). The most prominent adult educator in the radical tradition is Paulo Freire whose work in Latin America reflected both a "philosophy and method for bringing oppressed people to both literacy and political consciousness" (Ibid.:163). Another adult educator associated with the radical tradition is John Ohliger (1979) whose work draws heavily upon the ideas of both Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich. Ohliger suggests that adult educators should loosen and resist the economic and bureaucratic controls that stifle them within adult education institutions, or work outside the establishment (or at its fringes) or live/learn as individuals, in small groups or new communities as examples of a future society (Ibid.:169).

Elias and Merriam (Ibid.:170) make an assessment that radical adult education has not had any great impact upon the practice of adult education in the United States. The reasons they cite include the conservative nature of adult education institutions, the commitment of adult educators to these institutions and the propensity for adult educators who do advocate change to focus upon moderate reform measures in institutions or upon personal and individual change and not radical social change (Ibid.). Although Elias and Merriam (Ibid.:171) consider radical adult education inadequate as a unifying philosophy of adult education, they do identify a number of advantages in seriously examining this tradition and advocate that "radical thought is a good antidote to complacency" and that "connection with the radical tradition can make adult educators more critical and reflective in their work and also provide visions of alternative or future possibilities."

It is fitting to add here, as an antidote to complacency, that in a review of Elias' and Merriam's Philosophical Foundations of Adult Education Roberts (1982b:30) argues that these authors do not address the "reality - as distinct from the rhetoric - of adult education in North America." While recognizing that Elias' and

Merriam's discussions have some relevance to adult education as known historically, Roberts (Ibid.) suggests that they have little relevance to current practice which is characterized mainly by the "goods and services" approach in which "the marketplace is the milieu, and entrepreneurship is the game." The underlying philosophies of this approach Roberts (Ibid.) asserts, are behaviourism and individualism with the addition of "a strong dollop of pragmatism." That this is not dealt with by Elias and Merriam is considered by Roberts (Ibid.) to reflect the difference between "the study of adult education, and that of the practice." He offers those in the field of adult education some healthy self-criticism while elaborating upon the separate fields of the study and practice of adult education:

> While the former tends to dwell on the characteristics that sound good, such as openness, automony (sic) of the learner, heuristic learning, learner-centre (sic) programming (felt needs), democratic administration, and so on, the latter is dominated by the hard facts of institution-centred programming (ascribed needs), entrepreneurship, and competition for the business of those who can pay. It is as if, in our capacity as academics, seeking a respectability for our "discipline," we wish not to recognize that other side of us. (Ibid.)

Purposes of Adult Education

Frameworks have also been developed for reflecting upon the purposes of adult education. The four which will be outlined have been developed by Powell and Benne (1960), Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1975), McCreary (1981) and Roberts (1982a).

Apps (1980:78-79) cites Powell and Benne as suggesting that the purposes of adult education are dichotomized into developmentalist and rationalist, emphasizing the development of individuals and communities through problem-solving processes and the acquisition of knowledge and sharpening of judgment through studying the humanities, respectively. This dichotomy can also be viewed as reflecting the tension between the purposes of learning for dealing with current problems and learning for preserving cultural heritage.

In an attempt to address the relationship between the purposes of adult education and social change, Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1975) present a framework which outlines a continuum from conservation and maintenance to reform and revolution. This continuum is based upon the competing viewpoints of needing to retain existing societal goals and needing to achieve change within that society, and the conflict versus consensus view of achieving social change.

A taxonomic framework for adult education has been developed by McCreary (1981) based upon Canadian and American statements of purpose pursued in adult education since the 1930s. She discovered that the following four fundamental goals emerged: to develop technical abilities; to improve interpersonal relations; to intensify self-actualization; and to enable active participation in socio-economic decision making (labelled social activist education) (McCreary, 1981:132-133). Of these four purposes, only the latter two specify functions that encourage the development of critical thought with respect to personal experiences and the social environment.

Roberts (1982a:31) has also developed the following continuum of adult education purposes: remedial (to acquire basic skills for functioning in society); coping (to acquire coping skills for conditions of life arising out of personal problems, role change, or change in the state of knowledge in one's profession); personal development (to meet needs for esteem and self-actualization); social development (to develop social institutions which are responsive to changes in social relationships and structures); and counter-cultural (to challenge existing social, economic, political ideas and institutions). He acknowledges that some overlap tends to exist among the first four purposes and suggests that these purposes are depicted best by a wheel in which each segment shades into its adjacent one (Ibid.:257). These purposes are seen to serve the existing dominant culture whereas the counter-cultural purpose challenges the dominant culture and thereby introduces conflict theory into adult education. Roberts (1982a:259) depicts the counter-cultural purpose as a separate wheel and envisions the two wheels as gear wheels which may or may not synchronize with each other.

This review of the various frameworks of adult education purposes reveals divisions similar to those found among the various philosophies, and in particular the apparent conflict (to some adult educators) between the focus upon the individual or upon society and between the need for maintaining individuals/society and changing individuals/society. Sheats (1970:xxvii) exposes the Achilles' heel of American adult education as its establishment orientation. In a similar manner, London (1973b:54) suggests that:

> A central problem for adult education is to undertake programming that will raise the level of consciousness of the American people so that they can become aware of the variety of forces -- economic, political, social and psychological -- that are affecting their lives.

Again, the assertion is made that a current challenge for those involved in adult education is to grapple with the meaning of adult education as a liberating process.

Philosophies and Purposes -- A Synthesis

In their book Adult Education: Foundations of Practice, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:42) use the purposes of adult education as the basis for organizing the philosophical literature and arrive at the following five different emphases: the cultivation of the intellect, individual self-actualization, personal and social improvement, social transformation and organizational effectiveness. This synthesis provides a useful integration of the purposes and philosophies and also identifies, where applicable, how adult education is viewed as a liberating process. As this information is relevant background material for this study, these five emphases are summarized. For a more detailed understanding of this synthesis, reading of the full account of this work (Ibid.:43-74) is recommended.

The Cultivation of the Intellect

In the tradition of conceptual analysis, the British philosophers K. H. Lawson and R. W. K. Paterson argue that education should be a neutral activity which is considered independent of the goals of the social context. Accordingly, this approach advocates the development of cognitive rationality through the transmission of knowledge which is considered worthwhile (because of its objective worth in developing the intellect). Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:46) suggest that a logical extension of this view is a curriculum emphasizing liberal studies and a teacher-centred instructional method. Lawson and Paterson's view has not been widely adopted by American adult educators, Darkenwald and Merriam (Ibid.) suggest, because of its claim to neutrality and liberal studies bias. Darkenwald and Merriam (Ibid.) believe that adult education, in the pluralistic societies of North America, is eclectic and "is widely conceived of as encompassing a range of subjects, skills, procedures, practices, aims, and objectives." The next two emphases presented here are what Darkenwald and Merriam (Ibid.) outline as representing "the mainstream of adult educational thinking today."

Individual Self-Actualization

The humanistic or existentialist philosophies which emphasize the innate goodness of human beings and personal freedom underlie the focus upon individual self-actualization as the main purpose of adult education (Ibid.). A proponent of this focus upon individual growth and development is the adult educator Malcolm Knowles who suggests that adult education's aim is to help adults become liberated. Darkenwald and Merriam point out that when Knowles writes about people being free, he specifies that "each individual defines what he will be when free" (Knowles in Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982:47). Thus, Knowles suggests that this aim of adult education can be shared by all adult educators because any type of adult education could be included, if the individual saw it as liberating.

While Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:49) summarize this educational aim as emphasizing process over content, they acknowledge the role that a liberal arts program can play in achieving this aim. Additionally, they suggest that the teacher generally acts as a facilitator of group interaction. The adult is the centre of the experience and society is viewed as the provider of a wide variety of choices to the learner (Ibid.).

Personal and Social Improvement

The philosophy of progressivism underpins the aim of adult education as promoting individual growth and also maintaining and/or improving society. The individual is considered within the societal context. The progressive movement of the 1920s attempted to deal with the social changes of that time after industrialization and mass immigration had occurred (Ibid.:51). Education, specifically education for democracy, was believed to be the way to solve the problems of society. As Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:51) summarize: "liberating the learner released the potential for the improvement of society and culture."

John Dewey, the chief proponent of the progressive education movement, believed that education could play a part in social reform and reconstruction in a democracy as he viewed a democratic society as being committed to change. Dewey influenced adult educators such as Lindeman and Bergevin concerning the relationship between adult education and social responsibility (Ibid.).

Lindeman, in the tradition of the progressives, considered knowledge to be "equated with experience" that is reflected upon and acted upon by the learner (Ibid.:53). The experiences of the learners themselves and those of other people (including experiences recorded in books), Lindeman believed, were to be used to deal with situations. He recommended the situation-approach to learning which involves recognizing what constitutes a situation, analyzing the situation into parts, discussing the parts (problems) with reference to relevant information and other people's experiences, and subsequently developing possible solutions and acting upon one (Ibid.:56).

Dewey's influence in this approach can be seen in its similarity to the scientific or experimental method (also called problem solving) which involves clarifying a problem, developing ideas or hypotheses about the problem and then testing the hypotheses. Dewey suggested that this method could be used with learners to discover knowledge. The teacher acts in partnership with the learners and is responsible for organizing, initiating, and evaluating the educational process (Ibid.).

Adult education which promotes individual growth and social development encourages the learners to interact with their environment and recognizes that the social context influences the interests and needs of the learner. In addition, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:52) summarize Lindeman's position as advocating that adult education should not only enable people to cope with social change but also engage in social action. It is the relationship between education and social change which is the focus of the next purpose, social transformation.

Social Transformation

Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:58) distinguish between the progressive and radical educators by denoting that the former aim to create a better society within democratic values whereas the latter aim to create a new social order. Radical educators advocate criticizing the accepted values, structures and practices and proposing alternate visions of society.

Within this tradition are educators such as Illich and Freire, representing the anarchist and Marxist-humanist traditions respectively. The anarchist advocates promoting freedom by eliminating government control of education while those in the latter tradition assert that freedom will be achieved by the revolutionary transformation from a capitalist to a socialist society (Ibid.:60). Within the field of adult education, Illich's influence is evident in Ohliger's position against the institutionalization and professionalization of the field and the trend toward increasing compulsory adult education. As is examined in the next section on professionalization, Ohliger views adult education as a force which is becoming oppressive.

In contrast to this focus upon institutions, Freire's concern highlights the process of changing the "mind-set" and consciousness of individuals. The liberation of individuals and society enables a person not only to become aware of the oppressive social forces but also to transform that world and "guide one's own destiny" (Ibid.).

Freire's work began in the poverty-stricken areas of Brazil which were characterized by illiteracy and oppression. Oppression to Freire involves the exploitation or the limiting of self-development of one by another. The process that Freire outlines of liberation, of overcoming oppression, involves understanding one's oppression and undertaking to change it. This entails movement through levels of consciousness. The first level is intransitive consciousness or the culture of silence characteristic of Third World peasant societies where people are so busy meeting their basic needs that they do not understand the forces that have influenced their lives. The second level is semi-intransivity or magical consciousness in which people have adopted the negative views that the dominant culture have of them. Naive-transitiveness, the third level, is reached when people begin to identify their situation as a problem and also begin to recognize their potential role in shaping their own lives. The highest level, of critical consciousness, is characterized by the people's deeper interpretation of their problems, and active participation in dialogical discussion. Education alone does not result in this state, but rather praxis (union of reflection and action) does (Ibid.:61).

In Freire's method of problem-posing education, the content arises from the learners. The learners and teachers together create the program and both are teaching and learning in the process of dialogue.

Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:63) evaluate Freire's major contribution regarding the aims and objectives of adult education as his intertwining of education and political action, claiming that education is not neutral and either domesticates or liberates people. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:64) also summarize the radical thinkers as insisting that the educational system must be changed from one which maintains the status quo and oppresses people to one which challenges society and liberates people. While Darkenwald and Merriam (Ibid.) assess that few adult educators advocate radical social transformation as the aim of the field, these authors suggest that the views of Freire and other radical theorists could gain increased attention in the future. This suggestion includes the qualification that radical social change would not be considered to be political revolution.

Organizational Effectiveness

The underlying philosophy of adult education which aims to enhance the effectiveness of organizations is that of behaviourism. Training programs for employees are often designed on the basis of behavioural objectives and the systems approach so that outcomes can be measured and the benefits to the organization can be assessed (Ibid.:65).

Accordingly, competency-based programs are often used to achieve the desired behaviour change. In addition, techniques which are based upon humanistic philosophy such as human potential programs and self-directed learning experiences may also be used to increase organizational effectiveness. Thus, a variety of programs and methods could be used to educate employees with the roles of the trainer and participants varying accordingly. An issue within the area of employee education revolves around the need to consider the individual's need within the context of organizational goals. Individual needs and organizational needs can be found to be in tension with each other (Ibid.:67).

Summary: Meaning of Liberation

From this synthesis provided by Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) three different views have been identified on adult education as a liberating process. First, Knowles considers adult education to be liberating if the learner perceives it as such. Thus, Knowles does not suggest the presence of a relationship between the learner and society but rather focuses on the self-actualization of the learner. In contrast, Dewey advocates that adult education liberate the learner so that the learner in turn would improve society. Freire's view is that the liberation of individuals and society would enable the transformation of society. These three views, when taken together, describe liberation as on a continuum ranging from that of the learner solely, to that involving the learner and society in societal reform and transformation.

The Professionalization Debate

One of the issues with which developing fields usually grapple is that of professionalization. The question of the desirability of professionalizing is currently being debated among concerned scholars and practitioners in the field of adult education. This issue is, for some adult education scholars, directly connected to the philosophies and purposes of adult education as a field. Given the variety and divergence within the frameworks just reviewed, it is not difficult to speculate upon the range of positions that could be advocated. In this section, the stances within the debate are examined with particular attention to their relationship to adult education as a liberating process.

The Canadian Situation: Between Social Movement and Profession

When adult education in Canada is examined from an historical perspective, a pattern emerges which depicts a "shifting balance" between the trends of adult education as a social movement and as a professional field (Selman and Kulich, 1980). While both trends may have existed concurrently they did so generally as competing forces with increased activity in one being balanced by decreased activity in the other. Selman and Kulich (1980) contend that the future significance of adult education in the life of Canadians and Canadian society will depend upon the ability of the field to advance both thrusts. Such an inclusive position maintains that the professionalization and social movement trends are not mutually exclusive. This view is not shared by some other writers. To understand the reasons for this, both poles of the debate are examined briefly.

The Case Against Professionalization

Authors such as Carlson (1977) and Ohliger (1974, 1979) propose that adult education should not professionalize. The reasons Carlson (1977) cites in support of his position include the undermining of the informal adult education tradition. To him a professional tradition is characterized by qualifications and certification which seek to legitimize adult education's role in leading adults. The forecasted effects of the control that such professionalization [characterized by "coordination, efficiency, narrow definitions, leadership, compulsion, the extension of schooling, certification, accreditation, and licensing" (Ibid.:50)] might exert prompt Carlson to advocate the development of alternative models of professionalization. He agrees with Ohliger's (1974) assessment of the unchecked professionalization trend as one which will result in the dependency of adult learners upon a system that is becoming more prescriptive (witnessed by the increase in mandatory adult education).

Ohliger's argument raises the related issue of the institutionalization of adult education. In his view, adult education institutions consider adults from a deficit point of view and determine what adult education they need to consume to remedy their deficiencies. Citing empirical data, Ohliger (1974:48) illustrates the increasing extent to which adults are compelled to take courses. He also suggests that the recent trend of developing adult degrees and external degrees incorporates adult education into the educational establishment, thus institutionalizing it and further extending education as a commodity. In these ways, Ohliger (1974:55) suggests that adult education is becoming "an oppressive force that is taking over people's lives."

The arguments which Carlson and Ohliger put forward are reminiscent of the views (reviewed in the previous section) about social transformation as the aim of adult education. Indeed, Ohliger's position applies to both issues of social transformation and professionalization. He views the professionalization of adult education as a thrust which could subject adults to increasing degrees of control, and hence become an oppressive rather than a liberating force.

The Case for Professionalization

In contrast to the authors who outline the detrimental effects of professionalization in adult education are those scholars who view professionalization as a necessary and desirable step. As referenced previously, Selman and Kulich (1980) assert that professionalization (in conjunction with social movement thrusts) will enhance the effectiveness and significance of adult education in the lives of adults and society. Similarly, Griffith (1980:218) advocates that professionalization be pursued in order to maintain the quality and quantity of learning opportunities for adults by requiring that adult educators meet certain standards of "academic preparation and demonstrated competence." He further suggests that this particular aim be accomplished through the establishment of a professional society and qualifies this proposal with the assurance that "no more time would be spent on exclusionary self-aggrandizing concerns than is endemic to all established professions" (Ibid.).

This recommendation that professionalization would ultimately serve adults better by ensuring that adult educators are capable and well-trained and that their adult education programs are adequately funded is echoed by Campbell (1977). His concern regarding the inadequacy of the professional preparation of adult educators who have come into the field "through the back door" is shared by Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:235) who declare that "no self-respecting occupation can evade responsibility for setting at least minimal standards for those who practice it." In summary, the authors promoting the case for professionalization appear to be arguing for quality control as a means of providing better service to adult learners.

Bureaucratization: A Related Issue

Related to the process of professionalization is that of bureaucratization. Hall (1968:92) reported a general inverse relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization. The dimensions of bureaucratization considered were hierarchy of authority, division of labour, presence of rules, procedural specifications, impersonality and technical competence. Hall (Ibid.) also suggested that "the presence of professionals in an organization affects the structure of the organization, while at the same time, the organizational structure can affect the professionalization process." Thus, Hall defined the relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization, and also identified the dynamic occurring within this relationship.

It appears that Hall's (1968) findings about the inverse relationship are supported by at least one adult education researcher. Indeed, Clark (1968:153) suggested that the lack of professionalism in adult education (in the public school sector) resulted in the organization's procedures becoming strengthened. This occurred in the absence of any professional influence which might otherwise have directed the patterns of behaviour which ultimately emerged within the organization. Thus, Clark foreshadowed the increasing control of the parent organization upon the adult education program or unit.

In addition, Hall's (1968) assertion that the organizational structure can affect the professionalization process is supported by the lack of progress in the professionalization in adult education. This lack of progress is attributed to "the tendency for adult educators to identify primarily with the particular institutional sector in which they work, rather than with the broad field" (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982:233). As adult education has flourished, it has done so within the structures of governmental, educational, service and corporate business organizations in addition to the voluntary section from which it originally developed. As a result, adult educators have had to respond to the demands of the organization/institution to which they belong rather than to the demands of the broader field of adult education.

Towards Clarifying the Professionalization Debate

In critiquing the professionalization debate Brown

(1984:97) suggests that a major difficulty is "the failure to deal with the issue of defining terms." She suggests that it is not known whether a shared understanding exists for the meaning of professionalization and the resultant professionalism of adult education. It is because of this lack, Brown (Ibid.) claims, that a critical analysis of the debate is prevented for it is not known whether the opposing stances are based "on a true difference of opinion along similarly conceived dimensions or a 'false' difference because different dimensions are being used to define professionalism."

In an attempt to begin this process of clarification Brown (1984:98) reviews the literature on professionalism and identifies the following four approaches to studying the topic: structural, process, functional, and attitudinal. When professions are examined by structure, nine predominant traits are revealed which deal with: organizational structure (autonomy, professional association, self-regulation), knowledge (unique body of intellectual knowledge, research base, specialized training), and service ideal (a "calling," unique practitioner-client relationship, code of ethics). Brown (1984:99) agrees with Farmer's (1974) conclusion that, using a structural analysis, adult education is not a profession although much professionalization has been occurring within it. Brown (1984:99) asserts that it is the structural analysis of professionalism that is usually assumed when the issue is discussed with respect to adult education.

Brown (Ibid.) cites Houle's (1980) work in defining professionalism as a dynamic process whereby occupations attempt to become more professionalized. While this process approach upholds many components of the structural analysis, the process analysis emphasizes the evolutionary aspect (Brown, 1984:99). Citing Wilensky's (1964) work, Brown (1984) assesses a number of areas in which adult education has moved along the continuum of professionalization.

An examination of the literature of the functional approach to professionalism reveals a distinction between "a function and the performer of that function" (Ibid.:99) suggesting that a function may be taken over by an occupational group claiming to have the greatest expertise. Brown (1984:100) points out that the question today is whether the public will accept the adult educator's claim to expertise in educating adults, a function that has been performed for centuries.

The last approach to professionalism that Brown (1984) reviews is that of an attitudinal analysis. She cites the work of Hall (1968) whose "Professionalism Scale" evaluates the attitudes of individuals regarding "five professional referents: their professional association, public service, self-regulation, sense of calling, and autonomy" (Brown, 1984:100). Brown (Ibid.) notes that the most recent data about this dimension of professionalism in adult education was collected in 1969.

Brown (Ibid.) summarizes her review by stating that the literature reveals the "complexity and lack of consensus in defining the term." She argues for empirical data on the professionalism of adult educators as a beginning point for developing a definition of professionalism in adult education, analyzing the assumptions underlying the debate and ultimately leading towards a workable alternative model (Ibid.:102).

The professionalization debate is considered by Brown (1984) to be an ideological one. In opposition to the professionalization thrust some adult educators have supported organizations which promote voluntary learning and the view that educating adults means "to enhance their ability to take control of their own destiny, both educationally and politically" (Ibid.:101). In analyzing the description of the "two worlds of adult education" presented in a 1982 publication of the National Alliance for Voluntary Learning, Brown (Ibid.) claims that those arguing against professionalization appear to "assume that 'institutions', 'professionalism', and 'technology' are contrary to the services really needed by adult learners." On the other side, those supporting professionalization "seem to deemphasize considerations of empowering learners and of democratizing" (Ibid.). While Brown (Ibid.) muses whether this difference is based upon opinion and raises again the problem of lack of definition, another point can be made: namely, that for some adult educators the issue of professionalization cannot be divorced from philosophical considerations and the purposes of adult education.

Towards a New Model of Professionalism

In arguing for obtaining empirical data from adult educators, Brown (1984:102) suggests that such information would provide a starting point for discussion and a reappraisal of the professionalism of the field. In so doing, she speculates that a new "workable model of professionalism" could be created that would be acceptable to all adult educators. Brown (Ibid.) cites Cervero's (1982) suggestions as ones that adult educators might accept and adds some of her own ideas. Taken together, these ideas generally call for minimizing the exclusive nature of a profession and creating greater cooperation between client and professional, demystifying professional knowledge, sharing power between professional and client, and providing "real service" to learners by offering assistance when it is really needed and helping them solve problems within their environment (Ibid.).

This search for an alternative model strikes a chord with a British writer's assertion that "if adult education is to be a profession at all it can only be of the open, service-related and movement-like type" (Elsdon, 1975:178). In elaborating upon this theme, he distinguishes between the concepts of ethic and ethos. He considers the former to be characteristic of the closed nature of professions in which behaviours are enforced, enabling professionals to be entitled to certain rewards for membership. The latter, ethos, is "desirable but unenforceable" and is the "direction or ideal to be aimed at beyond the minimum threshold" (Ibid.:177). In adult education, Elsdon (Ibid.) suggests that a professional ethos involves the cooperation between professional and client in enquiring into the quality of the service. Thus ethos, in contrast to ethic, tends towards openness.

While adult education may lack an enforceable ethic, an examination of the functions of adult education "will show that it implies personal attitudes and standards which amount to a professional ethos that transcends an ethic" (Ibid.:184). These personal attitudes and standards are summarized by Elsdon (Ibid.) as being "awareness, understanding, acceptance and the discipline of absolutes." The awareness is of the total situation of society in which adult educators work. It is also necessary to understand social purposes, the processes of social change and the skills and methods to enhance the quality of life. There must also be an acceptance by the adult educator of the people he or she works with and of the ever-changing situation within which he or she works. Lastly, there must be the discipline of absolutes, that is to say that adult educators must have an awareness of absolute values and of a social role derived from them. This last attitude, Elsdon (1975:187) maintains, involves adult educators accepting a "special, limitless and all-consuming responsibility for their fellow-men in the context of their professional duties, wide as these are." Elsdon (Ibid.) believes that adult educators do so in the conviction that certain ways of relating to people are good or right and thus more worthy of pursuing than ways which are merely expedient.

On a more local level, Elsdon's (1975) ideas are considered inspiring. At a meeting of the Edmonton Adult Education Network, a debate was held on the motion "that professionalism provides a necessary organizing concept for the advancement of the practice of adult education." In arguing against the motion, Roberts (1984:9) accepted the need for having a "strong base of scholarship" as a distinctive field of study but rejected the type of professionalization which is allied with the "mechanistic, industrial paradigm" as "simply inadequate in guiding us to the solutions of the problems which that very paradigm has brought on us." In contrast, Roberts (Ibid.) cites Elsdon (1975) as expressing a wiser perspective on what professionalism ought to be. Indeed, there seems to be a growing interest in developing an alternative model of professionalism for adult education.

Summary

Many frameworks exist for viewing adult education from the perspective of its various underlying philosophies and purposes. An examination of these frameworks reveals a divergence in orientation between the focus upon the individual and upon society and between the need for maintaining individuals/society and changing individuals/society. Such frameworks have also been criticized as being applicable to the study of adult education but not to the practice of adult education which currently resembles the marketplace.

A synthesis of the frameworks of philosophies and purposes reflects five different emphases: the cultivation of the intellect, individual self-actualization, personal and social improvement, social transformation, and organizational effectiveness. The underlying meanings of liberation range on a continuum from that of the learner solely to that involving the learner and society in societal reform and transformation.

The professionalization debate is represented by two opposing poles. Those opposing professionalization claim it would undermine the informal tradition in adult education and lead to the dependency, control and oppression of adult learners. Proponents of professionalization argue that it would increase the quality and competence of practitioners and ensure the stability of adult education programs. The trend of bureaucratization in adult education was also noted which requires that adult educators respond to the demands of their sponsoring organization or institution.

Suggestions have been made for clarifying this debate and for developing a new model of professionalism. The new model is envisioned as incorporating aspects of adult education which are characteristic of its service and social movement dimensions.

CHAPTER 3

Method

This chapter outlines the research approach and method used and provides the rationale for their selection. The sources of data are identified and the steps for developing a focus, coding and analyzing the data, and interpreting the findings are reviewed. The limitations of the study are also stated.

Research Approach and Rationale

The general approach undertaken was that of a case study. Specifically, the writings of one adult educator, Moses Coady, were examined in an attempt to discover the meaning of liberation in adult education from his point of view.

The broader purpose of undertaking such a study was to gain an understanding of the nature of adult education as revealed by the Antigonish Movement to which Moses Coady gave leadership. This movement, which has been recognized as having had a profound influence upon adult education in Canada and around the world, was an example of adult education as a social movement with a reform orientation. As such, it pre-dated the recent trend towards professionalization and bureaucratization in adult education and the current debate concerning adult education's social role.

It was anticipated that gaining an understanding of the adult education associated with the Antigonish Movement would enable a perspective to be developed which considers the relevance of Coady's ideas for the contemporary situation.

Research Method and Rationale for Selection

In selecting a research method that would best enable the research objectives to be met, it was imperative that the underlying assumptions and orientations of various methods be considered. While it is not possible to review here the critiques of the application of the scientific method to studying human phenomena or to describe the range of alternative methods which have been developed, it will suffice to say that the method deemed appropriate for this study was not one which would attempt to test an hypothesis; rather a method was sought that would enable an understanding of another person's writings, that person being of an earlier historical period.

Thus, this study required a method that would enable the researcher to identify the themes within Coady's writings and to interpret such themes within the context within which they were written. To accomplish both aspects of the study, a combination of two methods was selected. First, the general method of thematic content analysis was used to identify the themes within Coady's writings. To obtain the desired sophistication in this general method, the grounded theory method outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) was adapted and applied for identifying the themes within Coady's writings. In the grounded theory method the data are subjected to comparative analysis through which themes and ultimately hypotheses are inductively generated. The contextual interpretation of Coady's themes was enabled by the use of the historical-critical method which has been used in disciplines such as theology for interpreting texts (Lochhead, 1977; Wishart, 1985). The specific way in which these methods were used will now be outlined.

Developing a Focus

To gain an understanding of the meaning of liberation in adult education as revealed by Coady and the Antigonish Movement, a very general focus was identified to facilitate the collection and analysis of data. Support for developing a "focus" and/or a "rough working framework" early in the study was found in the literature, specifically Bogden and Biklen (1982:146) and Miles (1979:591), respectively. These authors suggest that the failure to do so can result in the situation wherein a researcher doing qualitative research is overwhelmed by an unmanageable amount of data and by the proliferation of vast numbers of meaningless categories. Turner (1981:228) also states that because any phenomenon has an "infinite range of characteristics" the researcher must select as his or her focus those aspects which will help to solve the research problem. Thus, the general focus which was developed to assist in data collection and analysis in this study dealt with those aspects deemed to be appropriate to the research problem.

In this study, the researcher wanted to explore the meaning of liberation in adult education at a time when this aspect of adult education was a dynamic factor in Canada. At that time and place adult education was a social movement. The recent trend has been for the field of adult education to become increasingly professionalized. The researcher wanted to examine what adult education was like before it became professionalized. As is outlined later, these particular aspects, phrased as research questions, collectively formed the general focus which guided the data collection and analysis.

Sources of Data

The Antigonish Movement began over fifty years ago. Its pioneering leaders have since died but have left their ideas recorded in written form. The sources considered best suited for analysis were those documents which recorded the writings of the leaders who had formulated the ideas and directed the action of the movement. The writings of Moses Coady, in particular, were selected for analysis mainly because of his role as the Director of the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University through which he provided the leadership for the Antigonish Movement during the 1930s. The researcher acknowledges that Coady's writings reflect not only his own ideas but also those of others involved in the movement, most notably those of James Tompkins who influenced Coady greatly. The writings which were analyzed include a book written by Coady, a collection of his speeches and essays, and various booklets, pamphlets and articles also written by Coady. Specifically, these writings are:

1933 Program of Catholic Social Action;
1939 Masters of Their Own Destiny;
1940 Mobilizing for Enlightenment;
1943 The Antigonish Way;
1945 The Social Significance of the Cooperative Movement;
1947 "The Story and Philosophy of the Antigonish Movement in the Maritime Provinces. Hints to Speakers;"
1953 "Through the Visible to the Invisible;"
1957 "My Story;"
1971 The Man from Margaree - Writings and Speeches of M.M. Coady, edited by A. F. Laidlaw.

As Bogden and Biklen (1982:97) suggest, the subject's written words, whether in personal or official documents, can provide rich description of how the subject thinks about his or her world. The list of data above includes first-person narratives in which Coady describes his actions, experiences and beliefs. Also included in the data are personal letters and official documents such as newspaper articles, speeches, and publications. Understanding the purpose of the writer in producing the document is important, Bogden and Biklen (1982:99-100) suggest, because this purpose will affect the content of the document. In conducting the research, this suggestion has been heeded.

The researcher was aware that this analysis was based upon the interpretations of a researcher in 1984-1985 who was attempting to explore the ideas of a person who lived and wrote about his ideas in the 1930s to 1950s. Thus, as is discussed later, understanding the contextual setting is of the utmost importance when attempting to interpret reality for Coady.

Coding and Analysis

While a relatively substantial amount has been written about conducting qualitative research, in general, frequent references have been made to the lack of specific outlines for data analysis. In this study, the constant comparative method articulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) was adapted as a general guide for thematic content analysis and the suggestions of Miles (1977), Bogden and Biklen (1982) and Turner (1981) were incorporated to develop specific procedures for data analysis. The steps taken in coding and analyzing the data are outlined in the sequential order of implementation.

Recording the Data

The beginning point for the analysis of Coady's writings was Masters of Their Own Destiny, his major single volume. A series of research questions was used as a broad backdrop through which the data were organized. Each paragraph was read to understand the main phenomena or ideas presented and to determine which of the following research questions were illuminated:

1. What was the meaning of adult education, in Coady's view?
2. What was Coady's view of adults?
3. What was Coady's view of the relationship among adults (including that of teacher and learner)?
4. What was Coady's view of the relationship between adults and society?
5. What was the meaning of liberation, in Coady's view?
6. What was Coady's view of professionalization?
7. What was Coady's view of bureaucratization?

If additional areas were addressed, these were noted. The paragraph was then carefully and slowly reread and the sentence(s) which seemed to answer a particular question was recorded on the appropriate 5" X 7" index card (each index card had as its title one of the seven research questions). If a sentence(s) addressed more than one question, the overlap was noted and the sentence was copied onto the cards which held the data for the questions concerned. This process was continued for the entire book (165 pages).

Writing Memos to Oneself

While recording the data and later while analyzing the data, thoughts would arise pertaining to patterns or to points which seemed salient. These ideas emerged as a result of interacting with the data and were recorded on separate index cards entitled "Thoughts about analysis of Coady." Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Bogden and Biklen (1982) encourage researchers to write down observational comments and to write such memos as a way of recording insights and mental connections that might otherwise become lost and that could be useful later. Such recording also reduced thought conflict (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Thus, the mental flow of analyzing the data was maintained as the researcher knew that the insights and connections would be dealt with later.

Developing Categories

The index cards which recorded the data from Coady's book comprised the first set of notes for data analysis. Each line of notes was numbered consecutively. The notes were photocopied allowing a wide margin to be created on the left hand side where comments would later be written. The line-by-line approach was used for analysis to ensure richness, density, and inclusiveness of data (Glaser, 1978). Each entry [sentence(s)] was read and analyzed for its essence, i.e. the meaning inherent in the idea or phenomenon. This meaning was recorded in the margin opposite the entry (see Appendix B). If no meaning for the broad question (one of the seven as stated previously) being reviewed was found, the entry was marked (encircled) so that it could be reread and reanalyzed later. If, when reviewed at a later time, the encircled data did not fit the area, it was either transferred to an area where it did belong, noted for its contribution to another part of the study (e.g. background about the Antigonish Movement) or deleted.

All the sentences were compared to each other so that the meaning of each could be compared to the meanings revealed by previous entries. If identical meanings were found, then the number corresponding to the first occurrence of that meaning was recorded in the margin opposite the subsequent entry. Overlaps in categories were noted on separate cards and memos were written to record ideas generated by the process of interacting with the data. This procedure of analysis is the constant comparative method of joint coding and analysis described by Glaser and

Strauss (1967).

When all the sentences had been analyzed in this manner for one area, a summary was written, recording for each sentence its category number, line number, category and key ideas (see Appendix B). The summary was photocopied so that the data could be sorted. The copies were cut up into strips which contained one unit of analysis (each unit represented one sentence). The strips were then sorted into the corresponding categories. The data from the memo cards were also sorted in this manner. Categories were then examined for overlap, similarities and differences. As a result, the number of categories was reduced when various categories were combined. Again, each of the units (lines) within each category was compared to the others. An initial set of categories and properties was generated by this procedure; repetition of this total procedure for each of the seven questions produced an initial set of categories and properties for each question.

It is important to note here the differences between the method outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and the way in which it was adapted for use in this study. Firstly, Glaser and Strauss (1967) described their method as one to be used primarily in fieldwork, where the comparison is between different people or groups of people. In this study, the writings of one person were examined and the comparison was between different ideas.

Secondly, Glaser and Strauss (1967:36) outlined a process for developing conceptual categories and properties which entailed various levels of abstraction from the data, giving the categories and properties "a life apart from the evidence that gave rise to them." In this study, the data were analyzed and categorized while still retaining, as much as possible, the statements which were the original data. This care was necessary to be true to the data which would ultimately be examined for further interpretation. Abstracting from the data could introduce a distortion factor that would limit the integrity and richness of the interpretation. Categories were developed to enable an examination of the consistency of Coady's ideas rather than for generating hypotheses and theory.

Saturating Categories

After having developed an initial set of categories and properties based on Coady's book, Masters of Their Own Destiny, additional material written by Coady was sought to saturate the categories. The collection of Coady's speeches and writings compiled by Alexander Laidlaw, who was for many years the Associate Director of St. Francis Xavier's Extension Department, provided an excellent source of data for such saturation. The writings and excerpts spanned a period from 1938 to 1959 and were addressed to particular individuals and groups as well as the general public. Thus, these different groupings of time and audience provided comparative bases for checking consistency in ideas and their meaning.

In addition to this collection, various writings of Coady's were obtained, through inter-library loan, from the library and archives of St. Francis Xavier University. Once the decision was reached that categories were saturated, that is to say that no new aspects for the categories were coded from these additional writings, then data collection and analysis ceased.

Describing Categories

For each of the seven research questions, a chart (see Appendix C) was developed which outlined themes, categories and properties. Themes emerged when categories formed clusters. The chart outlined these themes, categories and properties in a hierarchical form which reflected these descending levels of inclusiveness.

Descriptions were then written of the categories within each of the research question areas. Developing the charts and creating descriptions of categories enabled the identification of similarities and differences among categories and led ultimately to tracing linkages among them.

Tracing Linkages

Connections among categories were developed by sketching linkages that emerged when the seven charts were laid out side-by-side and examined for similarities and differences. Turner (1981) and Bogdan and Biklen (1982) encourage such sketching and sorting activities. When a linkage was discerned, it was diagramatically highlighted by encircling the particular categories involved. A legend was developed so that different linkage patterns (see Appendix D) could be distinguished. After the patterns had been established, they were described by weaving together the appropriate categories.

Interpreting the Findings

In order to develop an interpretation of Coady's ideas, it was necessary to undertake a contextual examination. Reading Coady's work without understanding the situation within which such writings arose would lead to an ahistorical view and probable distortion of meaning. That is to say, a person in 1985 would tend to interpret Coady's ideas from his or her own contemporary perspective. What is required, rather, is that such a contemporary person attempt to understand the ideas from the perspective of the person who wrote them and thus allow the ideas to have integrity in their own time.

In trying to develop an approximation of the perspective which Coady might have held when he wrote his work, various sources and experiences were sought to provide a type of immersion in Coady's historical period. Not only were articles and books read but films were also viewed, most notably the National Film Board's "Moses Coady" and the recently-released Canadian production "The Bay Boy" which was filmed in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia and depicted life there in 1937. A summary of this background information was written and is presented in the next three chapters to provide contextual grounding prior to the interpretation and analysis of Coady's ideas.

The process described above was pursued in an intuitive fashion, with the goal being to achieve a fairly holistic understanding of the context being researched. While doing so, the researcher recalled a previous experience in which a theologian had outlined and illustrated the historical-critical method of approaching a text. Sensing the connection between the research in progress and this method, the researcher sought sources which outlined the steps in this method. The source selected as a guide for attempting an interpretation of Coady's work was a book by David Lochhead (1977) in which he described the traditional Latin terms *explicatio* and *applicatio*.

Lochhead (1977:29) suggests that *explicatio* and *applicatio* be thought of as "movements in opposite directions" whereby the former is "the movement from where we are into the world of the text" and the latter is "the movement from the world of the text back into our own world." He further outlines the steps involved in *explicatio* and *applicatio* and identifies some accompanying questions to be addressed. The following is a summary of these steps and questions as outlined and discussed by Lochhead (1977:29-37):

> A. Explicatio: Seeing the Text in Context
> This movement involves two steps. First, one must become familiar with the world of the text. Secondly, on the basis of knowledge that is available, one must ask what the text would mean in that kind of world.
> 1. The World of the Text
> The first step in our approach to a text is to assemble as best we can a body of information about the world of the text. In approaching any text it will be helpful to find the answers to a series of important questions . . .
> 1. When was the text written?
> 2. Who was the author of the text?
> 3. What important historical events and developments were taking place at the time of the text?
> 4. What form or forms of social organization is reflected in the text?
> 5. To whom is the text addressed? . . .
>
> Having outlined the context of the passage we have studied, we proceed to the task of explicatio proper. What does the text mean in its own context?
>
> B. Applicatio: The Text and our Context
> . . . The world of the text which we will have discovered in explicatio will be different from our own world. Yet it will not be totally different. A text which arose in a totally different world could not be understood. We would have no point of entry into that world and such a text could have no point of entry into ours. . .
> 1. How does the world of the text compare with the world in which we live?
> 2. What insight or direction does the text give us in relation to our contemporary world?

In addition, some other questions should be raised about the world of the text:

> What kind of literature is it (poetry, narrative, etc.)? What were the political, social and psychological factors at work when the text was finally writ-

> ten down. In short, what was the situation in that time which prompted the writing? (Wishart, 1985)

Engaging in this process with a text from another time (such as Biblical scripture), Lochhead (1977:28) asserts, is similar to having a dialogue with a stranger. As dialogue with a stranger continues, the way in which the stranger views the world becomes clearer, enabling greater understanding of a different world of experience. Yet, Lochhead (1977:40) in his chapter "The Politics of Understanding" cautions that a person must approach a text as consciously and critically as possible with respect to his or her own viewpoint so that the text may "expose and illumine the prejudices we bring to it." He suggests that the "experience in entering the world of the text should be a form of consciousness raising" (Ibid.). Specifically, Lochhead (1977:44) identifies the importance of recognizing that knowledge and understanding take place in a social context of social relationships, including power relationships. The dominant ideas of society represent a particular type of dominance and submission. Thus, he advocates asking "Whose interest is being served?" by having a particular understanding or interpretation of ideas.

While _explicatio_ and _applicatio_ appear to be outlined as separate movements, Lochhead (1977:48) emphasizes that reflection cannot be separated so neatly; rather, "_explicatio_ involves _applicatio_" because "to enter the world of the text, in _explicatio_, is already to gain new perspective on one's own world." In addition, Lochhead (1977:48-49) identifies two major weaknesses in the formalization of these processes when they are considered as a method. First, as a method, it does not "create imaginative insight." Second, as a method, it "isolates _applicatio_ as a discrete step." What is required to see the world through another's eyes, and to see new possibilities in the text, in Lochhead's (1977:49) opinion, is "the bridge between reflection and action" (or "theological praxis" in his context) rather than a tacked-on "moral to the story." In recognizing these limitations, the necessary correctives are also being identified.

This formulation of _explicatio_ and _applicatio_ provided the general guidance for attempting an interpretation of Coady's writings. The remaining sections of the dissertation have been organized to present the contextual background of Coady's world, his salient ideas, and an interpretation and discussion of his ideas, respectively. This organization and presentation of the research is consistent with the general sequence of the interpretative process.

Limitations of the Study

As discussed previously, each person brings his or her own perspective to viewing the world. In this study, one researcher alone has worked with the research material and proposed an analysis and interpretation. Such work has been influenced by the researcher's own background and experience, in spite of an awareness of such influence and an attempt to be self-critical.

CHAPTER 4

Moses Coady: A Sketch of the Person

Moses Coady, the author of the writings that were examined, has a particular historical, social and cultural background. This chapter briefly sketches "Coady's story" tracing his origin and roots, and describing his education, work and some personal aspects. Gaining a glimpse into his background puts into perspective the events and ideas about which he wrote.

Origin and Roots

Moses Coady was born in 1882 in Northeast Margaree, Cape Breton. When he was about two years old his parents moved to a farm in the Southwest Margaree Valley where he lived until he was 23 1/2 years old (Coady, 1957:1). His roots run deeply into the culture of the Nova Scotia farming villages and the traditions of the Roman Catholic religion. The Coadys were mixed farmers and were people in whom the faith was strong. The Coady and Tompkins families were of Irish descent and it is said that their ancestors in Ireland defied an invader and were hunted (Boyle, 1953:12).

Coady's life reflected the influence of these aspects of his surroundings in his studies, vocation and work. He grew up in a milieu where the people "were hard-working farmer-fishermen, with the innate regard for education which has always characterized the Nova Scotia people" (Corbett, n.d.:64). As the oldest boy in a large family he took part at an early age in rugged work. In reflecting upon this experience Coady (1957:1) claimed that

> the varied experience I acquired in the production, processing and marketing of primary products tempered my idealism and prepared me for realism in the co-operative phase of the adult education movement.

While this lifestyle interrupted his schooling (he did not go to school regularly until he was fifteen years old) his parents gave him a basic educational foundation by teaching him at home.

Education

His own regard for education was illustrated by his extensive educational pursuits. After high school he attended the Normal School for teachers and taught school for two years. He graduated from St. Francis Xavier University in 1905. That same year he was selected by the Diocese of Antigonish to attend the Urban College in Rome to study theology and philosophy. There he obtained his Ph.D. and his D.D. A priest by vocation, Father Coady returned to serve in his native province. Upon his return to Nova Scotia in 1910 he became a professor of education at St. Francis Xavier University and three years later he took post-graduate studies in education at the Catholic

University of America, Washington, D.C.

His Work: A Sketch

After his return from Washington to St. Francis Xavier University, Coady began to lecture at Teachers' Institutes and was forming the belief that his future would involve working with teachers to "regenerate the country through the education of the youth" (Coady, 1957:2). Some additional opportunities were offered to him that also influenced the course of his future.

In 1920, at a meeting of the Executive of the Teachers' Union, he was appointed to organize the teachers and to edit a teachers' magazine. He began organizing the teachers first in eastern Nova Scotia where the idea had not been given much attention. He founded and edited the Teachers' Bulletin. He served the organization for four years as secretary and watched it flourish as an organization. While he considered teachers' salaries in 1957 to be still far below what they should be, he attributed the salary increase that was obtained "in no small measure to the activities of the union" (Ibid.:3).

During this time, Coady was also supportive of the ideas and work of some St. Francis Xavier University professors in carrying knowledge directly to the people. As is outlined in Chapter 6, Dr. James Tompkins wrote a pamphlet challenging the St. Francis Xavier University to carry knowledge to the people and he subsequently established "The People's School." Dr. Hugh MacPherson had already been taking scientific knowledge to the farmers and pioneering producer and consumer cooperatives.

After Coady left the work of organizing the teachers, he began to put these ideas into practice by establishing the Margaree School. Coady's idea was to build a new type of school to bring music and art to the people of his native Margaree. It was after he had established the school that an idea came that was the "turning point" (Ibid.:4) in his life: "that the short, quick, scientific way to progress in the world, even in the field of formal education of the youth, was through the enlightenment and education of adults." He subsequently called together a meeting of a dozen people and asked them "What should people do to get life in this community, and what should they think about and study to enable them to get it?" (Ibid.:4) He listened to this group, during twenty meetings over a six-month period. This was his first experience with the technique that became the backbone of the Antigonish Movement, namely the study club.

Shortly after this experience, Coady advocated the use of this study club technique to help the fishermen deal with the problems in the fishing industry. His proposal for such adult education and the development of cooperatives was accepted by the MacLean Royal Commission investigating the fishing industry and was recommended to the

Canadian Government. While nothing happened on that suggestion for two years, a number of forces led to the creation of the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department and Coady was asked to be its director in 1928.

Another assignment which he undertook in 1928, at the request of the federal government, was to organize the fishermen. His efforts contributed towards the creation of the United Maritime Fishermen, a federation of cooperatives. Once this work was completed he resumed his work as director of the Extension Department, a position he held until 1952 when he retired. He remained active there in the field of adult education until his death in 1959. As is evident from the range of groups he addressed (see Appendix F) he also involved himself in the national and international scope of adult education. He was elected president of the CAAE in 1949. It is important to note in this brief sketch that Coady was a Nova Scotian who grew up in the eastern Nova Scotia area, was educated there and later abroad, and returned to his original surroundings to work.

His Kindred Spirit

Coady's beginnings were not unlike those of his cousin Dr. James Tompkins who was thirteen years older than Coady. Coady praised him as "the original adult educator in this part of Canada, the first to bring education as we know it to the fishermen, and largely responsible for the beginnings of the Credit Union movement" (Corbett, n.d.:65). "Father Jimmy," as Tompkins was called, was known for "always prodding people, opening up their minds and pushing them to a realization of their abilities and the problems of society" (Ibid.:65). Tompkins selected Coady as a particular target for his ideas. Tompkins wrote letters of advice to him, sent him numerous theological pamphlets from Rome and even taught him Latin by mail (Boyle, 1953:34). So it was that Coady was influenced early in life by the activist Tompkins and has been, in fact, referred to by some as his protege (Lotz, 1976:106; MacInnes, 1978:197).

Personal Characteristics

Descriptions of Coady depicted him as a strong, rugged, big man, "a giant of a man, six feet four, with the shoulders, chest and limbs of a wrestler" (Corbett, n.d.:63). A well-educated man, he was known as a simple and eloquent speaker whose speech was full of the earthy idioms of his birthplace, using locally-based metaphors when discussing societal events. Whether comparing the 1929 economic collapse to a great flood in the Margaree Valley or the loss of consumer rights to the construction of a leaning smoke-stack, it is said that "the homely aptness of his metaphors remains in the memories of those who listen. This is one of his most valuable characteristics" (Ibid., n.d.:64).

Frequent use is made also of the adjectives "dynamic," "zealous," "humble" and "charismatic" when referring to Coady. Perhaps they reflect both his innate ability to teach and lead as well as his concern for dealing with the issues of the people of his area. Dr. Edward Corbett (n.d.:66), who was the Director of the University of Alberta's Extension Department and later the Executive Director of CAAE, described Coady as "first, last and all the time the philosopher at work with ideas and people" and further explained that Coady's formal background as a student and teacher of philosophy was important in grounding him in his work:

> While others may get confused with incidentals, he cuts through details and clarifies a situation by a statement of principle. This accounts for his deep confidence in something that is basically true or philosophically sound. In the early days when the going was tough in some quarters, he knew he would win because his philosophy was good (Ibid.:66).

But most importantly of all, Coady was the indigenous teacher and leader. Again, Corbett (n.d.:66) sums up this attribute aptly:

> Above all, Dr. Coady is a man of the people. Here is none of the cheap political swashbuckling concern about "the dear peepul." He dares to speak in high places about exploitation and injustice because he knows what he is talking about and his knowledge is based on actual conditions.

Summary

Moses Coady, born of Irish descent in rural Cape Breton, experienced the rugged life on the land before he pursued his education and career as priest and adult educator. After receiving training in Nova Scotia and abroad he returned home to work in his native area of eastern Nova Scotia. Influenced by such educational leaders as James Tompkins, Coady became involved in developing approaches for taking education to the people and later led this process as Director of the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University.

CHAPTER 5

Historical Background of Nova Scotia: A Set of Images

In order to gain some depth in perspective about Coady's thinking and actions it is imperative to develop an understanding about the history and culture of the Maritimes and Nova Scotia in general and of the area involved in the Antigonish Movement in particular. Accordingly, a set of images is presented to assist in acquiring an appreciation of Coady as a person of a particular historical and cultural background. Emphasis is placed upon economic history as it is an aspect of history upon which Coady placed great significance.

Prior to Confederation: Hope for a Prosperous Future

> At one time the Atlantic Provinces were blessed with a combination of resources and locational advantages which made the area the economic heart of what is now Canada. (Caves and Holton, 1961:147)

This assertion reflects a basis upon which hope for a prosperous future in the Atlantic Provinces was founded. The natural resource of fish brought the Atlantic Provinces into the western world's economy at the beginning of the sixteenth century and later the resources of the forest, minerals and some agricultural produce were added to this list of exports (Ibid.:148). Later, Nova Scotia's fisheries and agriculture benefitted from the increase in both labour supply and domestic market as Loyalists from the American colonies settled in Nova Scotia after the American Revolution. Indeed, Nova Scotia also benefitted from Britain's loss of these colonies because the British then attempted to develop Nova Scotia as a part of the triangular trade with Great Britain and the West Indies (Ibid.:149).

As has been documented amply and is summarized in the Rowell-Sirois Report (Smiley, 1963), the Maritimes' economy was based on the forest and the sea with fishing, lumbering, shipbuilding and the carrying trade being the principal occupations. These occupations were dependent upon "wood, wind and water." "The Maritimes had grown up as a part of the old British commercial system which sought to make the Empire a closed trading unit, and they had responded to the demands of that policy" (Ibid.:15). Accordingly, the staples of fish and timber were supplied to the protected markets and the closely allied and largely complementary shipbuilding and carrying trades developed, producing a "highly unified and integrated economy" in which "in a personal and more intimate sense, several of these occupations were often unified in a single enterprise carried on by one individual or trading group" (Ibid.:17). Consequently, as with parts of the body, changes in one area would affect others and require correlative action to accommodate the change.

Although the Maritimes initially had responded to the colonial needs of Britain, the Maritimes rose to prominence on a global scale:

> At the middle of the last century, the Maritimes were one of the world's great commercial maritime powers, holding fourth place in registered tonnage of shipping . . . On the basis of forest products and fish, they had made a place for themselves in world industry and trade. (Ibid.)

The most diversified of the Maritimes' economies was that of Nova Scotia, having a greater variety of exports and range of markets even though in 1866 over forty per cent of the value of total exports was accounted for by fish (Ibid.). It is difficult, however, to evaluate precisely the importance of the fishing occupation relative to other occupations because many people involved themselves in more than one occupation, combining fishing, farming and lumbering and sometimes also the carrying trade. Farming, while it did not supply a great percentage of export volume, did provide families with a measure of domestic security:

> A highly individualistic and resourceful people used their farming operations to establish a marked degree of self-sufficiency while they secured supplementary cash income from fishing and lumbering. A great many of them were, at one time or another, engaged in the carrying trade. (Ibid.)

This period of prosperity for the Maritimes a decade prior to Confederation has been since named the "Golden Age" or the "Golden Years." Maintaining such prosperity required the corresponding stability and prosperity of each of the facets of this integrated economy, which rested on a precarious base by the middle sixties. This precarious base was caused by many factors including depletion of the best and most accessible timber resources, loss of commercial privileges of the colonial preferences, competition with New England for West Indian fish markets, and loss of free market for fish with the United States after the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866. Although the Civil War stimulated exports and the carrying trade and masked the effect of these threatening factors, the resulting prosperity was temporary and ended when the war was over (Ibid.:19).

The revolution in transportation also presented a formidable challenge to the Maritime economy which was balanced on fish and lumber exports, wooden shipbuilding and the carrying trade. The steamship was "ousting the wooden sailing ships and undermining the foundations of the economy of the Maritime Provinces" (Ibid.). The hope, however, was seen in the steel and steam of the railways which the Maritimes had been attempting to build for twenty years before Confederation. Railways connecting the Maritimes and their ports to the Canadas would not only improve their own communications and hinterland development but also might open markets for coal, fish and manufactured products in the Canadas and in turn, draw their commerce to the Maritime seaports (Ibid.:20).

Preceding Confederation, the Maritimes had a prosperous and mature economy which was being threatened. On a global level, the occupations which were dependent upon "wood, wind and water" were becoming obsolete. It was realized that such a situation would upset the balance of the Maritime economy. When viewing the economic condition from the perspective of some residents of eastern Nova Scotia, there has recently been the suggestion that for them the "Golden Age" of prosperity was a myth. "The indigence of numerous Catholic Scots is one illustration of the inaccuracy of this myth" (MacInnes, 1978:117). Indeed, it is important to consider the situation on a smaller scale, that of the Maritime family:

> In the Maritimes, agriculture, fishing and lumbering were closely allied. Everywhere the family and its relatives were a close economic unit; the various members helped one another when new enterprises were started or old ones failed. The material basis for this mutual welfare association was the family farm. (Smiley, 1963:26)

When the economy of the family was threatened, the extended family attempted to buffer the harshness of the family's plight.

Confederation: Hope and Fear

> Canadian Confederation was a great political achievement. It was made possible by a remarkable conjuncture of events which brought each of the separate colonies to a crisis in its affairs at the same time and pointed to political union as a common solution of their difficulties. (Ibid.:9)

For the Maritimes, these difficulties included not only the previously-mentioned threat of the steamship and loss of imperial preferences but also the ten and one-half million dollar public debt accumulated by railway construction, the hostile attitude of the United States and specifically for Nova Scotia, the need for protection for its deep-sea fisheries (Ibid.:9,20,29). As a solution for many political and economic difficulties, Confederation was designed politically to create a new nation to deal with the challenge of changed British policy and potential American aggression. The economic aims of Confederation were to "foster a national economy which would relieve dependence upon a few industries and lessen exposure to the effects of the economic policies pursued by the United States and Great Britain" (Ibid.:29).

Given the obstacles to continued economic prosperity and the territorial threat of the United States, a number of measures such as free trade and interprovincial transportation facilities were proposed to increase the strength of the federal union. The Intercolonial Railway would link the Maritimes with the St. Lawrence Valley with the intention of bringing the commerce of Canada to the ice-free ports of Halifax and St. John which would become Canada's New York and Boston. In this way the Maritimes could funnel trade goods both into and out of Canada and perhaps ultimately transcontinentally for British North

America (Ibid.:30; Caves and Holton, 1961:152).

It is interesting to note the role of the family as depicted by the Fathers of Confederation when they were making decisions about federal and provincial finances and responsibilities. Again, the theme of the self-sufficiency and mutual support of the family pervades the description:

> The self-sufficiency and solidarity of the family carried a great deal of this burden of providing social security for the unfortunate. Periodic unemployment generally meant no more than a temporary retreat to the family homestead. There was nothing in the experience of the Fathers to suggest serious defects in this pattern of social security. Indeed, there was a disposition to speak hopefully of a time when private charity would relive (sic) the governments of their existing commitments for public welfare. Personal responsibility was the ideal of the time and many looked forward to a society where it would be perfectly realized (Smiley, 1963:52).

Demands were placed squarely upon the family to absorb and offset any distress experienced by its members as a result of economic hardship.

Although many accounts of Confederation emphasize the hope that was held for the Maritimes of not only escaping misfortunes but also of creating a brighter future (Ibid.:9), the sentiment was not unanimous. As stated by David Alexander (1983:51):

> The union of the British North American colonies provoked both fear and optimism in the Maritimes - fear that the provinces would be reduced to colonies of Upper Canada, and optimism that they would develop into the workshop of the new dominion.

In the next section the feared decline of the Maritimes is traced.

Post-Confederation to 1940: Prosperity and Decline

> Confederation represented a great turning point for the Maritimes in terms of the economic orientation of the economy. Prior to Confederation they had ignored the rest of what is now Canada, relying almost exclusively on trade with Britain, the West Indies and the United States for their livelihood. (Caves and Holton, 1961:152)

Initially, the new Dominion experienced a measure of prosperity during a world-wide period of well-being. During this time Nova Scotia even increased fish exports, recovered its American coal markets and was heavily engaged in shipbuilding during the Civil War. This boom, however, broke in 1873 and was followed by a world-wide depression lasting twenty-three years (Smiley, 1963:68). Once again, the Maritimes faced an uncertain future.

T. W. Acheson (1972:3) describes the Maritimes' economy of 1870 as closely representing the "classic ideal of the staple economy" which was consequently harshly affected by the declining British market for lumber and ships after 1873. The large shipbuilding industry never did revive, reducing the Nova Scotian shipbuilders' task to that of constructing small vessels for the coasting trade (Ibid.). There was, however, a government policy which attempted to ameliorate the economic crisis.

The Federal Government's National Policy of tariff protection of 1879 was designed to be "a powerful instrument for promoting domestic production in a wide range of articles and for diverting trade from international into provincial channels (Smiley, 1963:67). The effect of this National Policy was a significant transfer, during the decade after 1879, of both "capital and human resources from the traditional staples into a new manufacturing base" to the extent that between 1881 and 1891 "the industrial growth rate of Nova Scotia outstripped all other provinces in eastern Canada" (Acheson, 1972:3). This growth was most unequally distributed, centring around communities containing "a group of entrepreneurs possessing the enterprise and the capital resources necessary to initiate the new industries" (Ibid.:4). The new industries promoted by the National Policy which were of greatest potential benefit to the Maritimes were textiles and iron and steel products. Given that the Maritimes possessed the only "commercially viable coal and iron deposits in the Dominion" and could control most of Montreal's fuel sources (because of the tariff), the assumption existed that the Maritimes, particularly Nova Scotia, would become Canada's industrial centre (Ibid.:6).

In his article, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes 1880-1910," Acheson (1972) traces the progress of the "strongly community-oriented" Maritime entrepreneurs who attempted to develop viable manufacturing industries locally. These entrepreneurs eventually "acquiesced in the 1880's to the industrial leadership of the Montreal business community because of the lack both of resources and of a strong regional metropolis" (Ibid.:4). Much of the early industrial development took place as combined efforts by groups of community entrepreneurs drawn from a "traditional business elite of wholesalers and lumbermen" (Ibid.:7). The Maritimes was characterized by small family firms with "limited capital capabilities." Thus such combined efforts were required because chartered banks were generally the only financial structure to support such endeavours. Maritime people tended to put their money into banks rather than investing in the market. An exception to this pattern was seen at New Glasgow, the centre of the Nova Scotia coal industry, where in 1889 when the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company was formed through amalgamation, more than two-thirds of the $280,000 capital stock was held by New Glasgow's citizens (Ibid.:10). In addition, a prominent Halifax businessman also invested in the company making it one of the few examples of "inter-community industrial activity in this period" (Ibid.). In 1904, this company produced most of the Dominion's primary steel and was one of the largest industrial corporations in the country.

Yet, in a more general sense, the Halifax and St. John business communities failed to provide positive leadership to their hinterland areas. Community entrepreneurs had to deal with problems of their own "ignorance of both the technical skills and the complexities of the financial and marketing structures involved in the new enterprises" (Ibid.:11). While technical skill was imported from England and Scotland, financial problems continued to plague the industries with the result that for some, relying extremely heavily on community banks, "any general economic crisis toppled both the industries and the banks simultaneously" (Ibid.:11). A general business downturn which dealt a severe blow to the Canadian economy in the mid-1880s was one such crisis.

The often-cited problems of the deterioration of the British lumber market, the shift from sea to railroad transportation and the Dominion of Canada's tariff regulations and railroad building resulted in a trading pattern disadvantageous to the Maritimes. The trade westward by rail to Central Canada left the Maritimes with a heavy trade imbalance. While the Maritimes sent primary and primary manufactured products to Montreal, the greater value of commerce flowed from Central Canada to the Maritimes in the form of flour and manufactured materials which the Maritimes had formerly obtained from Great Britain and the United States. The external trade by ship with Great Britain and the West Indies was heavily weighted in favour of the Maritimes and provided the credits to meet the "gaping deficits" from the trade with Central Canada. This equilibrium was threatened by the declining lumber market

(Ibid.:12).

The recession of 1885 was a time when the brunt of such disequilibrium was experienced, as illustrated by the closing of the Moncton and two Halifax sugar refineries. Blaming the relatively high freight rates charged by the Intercolonial Railroad as a cause for this loss, the Halifax manufacturers asked the government for a reduction in freight rates and did obtain a reduction in sugar freight rates (Ibid.:14). This success, however, was overshadowed by the fact that the greater problems would require as solutions broader measures such as controlling railway rates, a measure not practically feasible:

> Such a general alteration in railway policy would have required subsidization of certain geographic areas - districts constituting political minorities - at the expense of the dominant political areas of the country, a prospect which the business community of Montreal and environs could hardly be expected to view with equanimity. (Ibid.:15)

The measure which was implemented was the regulation of industrial production.

Although the first attempts towards such regulation came in the form of a formal trade association in the cotton industry, the next attempt came from a Montreal group which used the corporate monopoly technique. After a "parliamentary outcry against combines," a Scottish group attempting a similar result in the sugar industry changed the tactic to regional consolidation. This consolidation movement of the 1890s transformed most of the other major

Maritime manufactories, except the iron and steel products, the confectionery, and the staple export industries, such that "control of all mass consumption industries in the Maritimes had passed to outside interests by 1895" (Ibid.:19). Acheson (1972) attributes the failure of any Maritime metropolis to achieve this kind of control partly to geographic location and partly to a failure of entrepreneurial enterprise. As a result of this past experience, the "truncated industrial community" focused upon resource industries, such as Nova Scotia's iron and steel, in which "geography gave them a natural advantage over their central Canadian counterparts" (Ibid.:20).

Acheson (1972) further chronicles the process of the Maritime entrepreneurs' loss of control of Nova Scotia's major industrial potential, that of its iron and steel. The shift from industrial to financial capitalism which was centred on the Montreal stock market "brought to the control of industrial corporations men who had neither a communal nor a vocational interest in the concern" (Ibid.:23). In 1920 the Halifax business group joined with Montreal and London business groups in the organization of the British Empire Steel Corporation which contained both the Dominion and the Nova Scotia Steel companies.

In reflecting upon the role of the Maritime entrepreneur in this industrial experience of 1880 to 1910, Acheson (1972:28) also provides insight into the entrepreneurial attitude of that time:

> Lacking any strong regional economic centre, the Maritime entrepreneur inevitably sought political solutions to structural problems created by the National Policy,...in many respects the National Policy simply represented to the enterpreneur a transfer from a British to a Canadian commercial empire. Inherent in most of his activities was the colonial assumption that he could not really control his own destiny, that, of necessity he would be manipulated by forces beyond his control. The inability of the Canadian market to consume his output was as much a failure of the system as of the entrepreneur; the spectacle of a metropolis which devoured its own children had been alien to the Maritime colonial experience. Ultimately, perhaps inevitably, the regional entrepreneur lost control to external forces which he could rarely comprehend, much less master.

This discontent was also shared by the public and the politicians of the Maritimes and was quite evident among the members of Nova Scotia's legislature. Even at the time of the union there had been "a widespread and burning conviction in Nova Scotia that it had been manoeuvered into a bargain prejudicial to its vital interests" (Smiley, 1963:71). In fact, thirty-six out of thirty-seven members elected to the provincial legislature in late 1867 were anti-Confederates and by 1886 resolutions advocating secession were introduced in Nova Scotia's legislature.

Antagonism had been created by the Dominion's federal policies which had adversely affected Nova Scotia's commercial and financial interests. In addition, the province's "very straitened circumstances" were not dealt with adequately by federal subsidies calculated on a per capita basis as "subsidies on a per capita basis glossed over real differences in need arising from disparate circumstances, unconnected with differences in population" (Ibid.:83). Such provincial discontent precluded the development of a strong national identity within the Dominion, and led ultimately to the emergence of expressions of regional dissatisfaction.

The "Wheat Boom" of 1896-1913 brought change to the whole country. The West was opened up and settled, drawing many sons and daughters of the Maritimes and Central Canada to the plains. This period was not a boom period for the Maritimes:

> With the exception of the Maritimes, which were affected by but did not share generally in the expansion, the wheat boom brought prosperity to the whole country. (Ibid.:106)

The war years did bring "frenzied activity" to the Maritimes. They played a role in providing a focus for traffic as well as for producing required goods. At the close of the war period 1914-21, there was a rapid increase in public debt, largely accounted for by an expansion of public utilities (excluding railways) such as power commissions (Ibid.:128). Postwar adjustments, in addition to the previous years' difficulties in international trade and the development of Central Canada, left the Maritimes "in the backwater of Canadian development" (Caves and Holton, 1961:161).

During the post-war period, the Maritimes experienced a long lag in recovery until 1925-26. Meanwhile Central Canada "forged ahead rapidly without interruption" during this same period (Smiley, 1963:140). Central Canada had benefitted from the industrial strategy of the National Policy and gained both economic stability and political power while the eastern Provinces "with neither much industry nor a dynamic resource frontier, had declined in relative importance" (Alexander, 1983:145).

In response to the Maritimes' declining influence, a regional protest movement, known as "Maritime Rights," formed in the early 1920s. As Ernest Forbes outlines in his article, "The Social Origins of the Maritime Rights Movement," a number of different social groups, each with its own motives, united to participate in the movement. The development of Maritime regionalism occurred mainly during 1900-1920, for which the Maritime Rights Movement "formed the climax" (Forbes, 1975:55). Forbes (Ibid.) cites two factors contributing to the growth of regionalism: firstly, the three provinces had a growing realization of the need for cooperation to "counteract the eclipse of their influence" within the Dominion and, secondly,

> the progressive ideology of the period which increased the pressure upon the small governments for expensive reforms while at the same time suggested the possibility of limitless achievements through a strategy of unity, organization and agitation.

As has been noted earlier, optimism in the Maritimes had grown during the burst of manufacturing developments;

however, when the Intercolonial Railway was integrated into a national system an increase in freight rates resulted. In addition, the federal take-over of the Grand Trunk Railway appeared to threaten the success of the Halifax and St. John ports in their rivalry with Portland. In 1922, the Halifax and St. John boards of trade took action by appointing a committee to agitate about such issues. Although the committee was composed largely of merchants and manufacturers, lumbermen also joined the protest, as did labour (Ibid.:58). Forbes (1975:59) explains that although labour had engaged in a series of strikes against their employers in 1919 and 1920, the workers joined with business groups in the protest realizing that "their aspirations for a greater share of the fruits of their labour could not be achieved if their industries were destroyed from other causes." The cooperation of these groups is illustrated by the fact that one of the four speakers of the Maritime Rights' delegation to Ottawa in 1925 was the president of a Longshoreman's Association (Ibid.:61).

Forbes (1975:63) observes that the farmers, fishermen and professionals also supported the movement and adds that, while the professionals' role in the movement was "prominent, but their motivation ambiguous," the professionals certainly "played an important function in articulating and rationalizing the aspirations of the other groups." The "ambiguity" refers to the question of whether professionals were speaking for themselves or solely for the groups on whose behalf the professionals worked. He cites an example where it is clear that

> the priests who protested the Duncan Commission's failure to help the fishermen were acting as agents for the fishermen in their parishes. Their intervention resulted in the Royal Commission investigation of the fisheries in 1928. (Ibid.:64)

He also suggests that the clergy and academics were "most prominent in articulating the various strains of an amorphous progressive ideology" (Ibid.). The clergy "imbued with the social gospel" worked for reforms "ranging from prohibition to widow's pensions and occasionally engaged in wholesale attacks on the capitalist system" (Ibid.). Among the reforms championed by the academics were the programs of agricultural education and farmers' cooperatives promoted by the Truro Agricultural College and St. Francis Xavier University with the aim of regenerating the rural areas (Ibid.). So it was that these various groups, each with their own particular aims, joined in a regional protest movement.

The Rowell - Sirois Report (Smiley, 1963:154) records that "the economic and financial distress of the region, combined with the vigour of the agitation, led in 1926 to the appointment of the Duncan Commission to investigate Maritime claims." The Province of Nova Scotia submitted a brief to this Commission outlining how the Maritimes had been denied the benefits promised to them at Confederation, how they had suffered from the national transportation and tariff policies of the Dominion and more generally, how they lacked a standard of living comparable to other parts of Canada. After being faced with this information, "when the serious plight of the Maritimes became an unmistakable fact" (Ibid.:148), the Duncan Commission recommended that subsidies to the Maritimes be increased. Subsequently, the subsidies were increased (almost doubled) to meet the deficits at that time. While the aspirations of the various groups within the Maritime Rights Movement were not realized with the "continued decline of the economic and political status of the Maritimes in the Dominion" (Forbes, 1975:66) the political significance of the agitation was great:

> An entire region of the Dominion, moved apparently by a common sense of injustice, protested against the inequitable operation of the national policies. Whatever rights may have been involved, the plight of the Maritimes was serious. A region, suffering from these difficulties and animated by a sense of injustice, found that its most immediate interest in national affairs was to secure some recognition of its regional troubles. (Smiley, 1963:155)

Although the Maritimes was successful in focusing the attention of the Federal Government upon its problems, the region continued to experience difficulties, growing more slowly than the national economy of the country. During the era of the great depression in Canada, each region placed greatest priority on developing a "more self-sufficient and independent regional economy" (Ibid.:166). As has been the recurring theme in this historical sketch, disparities among the provinces became pronounced. The Maritimes did not possess the northern hinterlands, which contained rich mineral deposits, as did other provinces. In addition, the strain placed on the public finance system was great in the Maritimes as one of the most "unfavourably situated provinces" (Ibid.:170). In the Rowell-Sirois Report the suggestion is made that the national economic policies of the Federal Government which exercised control over the tariffs and monetary conditions did little to improve the disparity and "in some respects intensified it" (Ibid.). In a parallel vein, when considering the relative beneficiaries of the National Policy it has been said "The Cinderella has been Atlantic Canada" (Alexander, 1983:46).

In reflecting upon this post-Confederation development of the Maritimes into "a dependency rather than a workshop," Alexander (Ibid.:51) summarizes a number of positions which have been taken to contribute towards an understanding of the decline. He suggests that while there is not yet a great volume of historical analysis of the decline of the Maritimes, some recent research provides additional and/or alternate insights to the established interpretation of the "staples school of geographic determination." The Staples School views the obsolescence of "wind, wood and sail" as the cause of decline. Alexander's

(1983:53) position is that this view is too narrow an interpretation, citing the fact that there has never been a satisfactory explanation "why the equally 'woody and windy' Scandinavians managed to pass, at great profit, into the vulgar world of oil-fired turbines."

He also challenges this same view of geographic determinism which suggests that the migration of manufacturing and financial activity to Upper Canada was inevitable. In supporting the idea that the migration process was not as "neutral" as some arguments imply, Alexander (Ibid.) cites the work of E. R. Forbes and T. W. Acheson. As has been previously outlined in this section, Forbes suggests that losing regional control of the Intercolonial Railway's rate structure in 1918 was "the cancellation of a critical tool of regional development which had served the Maritimes well during the previous forty years" (Ibid.). T. W. Acheson, whose work has also been reviewed in this section, outlines the success of the Maritime entrepreneurs "in the early decades of Confederation in shifting the economy from a North Atlantic to a continental focus" (Ibid.). The region's industries were later taken over because they lacked a strong regional metropolis, making them weak in pursuing regional interests in national policy (Ibid.). Other research, focusing upon manufacturing in the 1960s and thus outside the scope of this study, and a study about the inept external management of a Maritime company, were cited by Alexander (1983) to challenge the established explanation of Maritime underdevelopment, that of its inevitability.

Alexander (1983:54) begins his own analysis with the statement that "although identification of the turning point is still uncertain, it is agreed that by 1940 the Maritimes' economy had declined in size relative to Canada." He then traces, through statistical data, rates of growth of the general population and of the labour force which show a marked lag in the Maritimes relative to the rest of Canada for the time period 1880 to 1940. His analysis of the distribution of the output reveals trends for growth in the key five sectors of the Atlantic economy: agriculture, forestry, mining, fishing and manufacturing. Each sector is summarized briefly in turn, as documented in Alexander's (1983:59-68) article.

The agricultural sector showed a decline in relative contribution to Maritime output, but this decline was less than that for Canada. Between 1891 and 1941, the number of occupied farms "declined steadily," with the rural depopulation in the 1920s contributing to this situation (Ibid.:61). The growth performance of agriculture was "relatively weak" but was not considered to be a "notably deficient" sector of the economy because its rate of growth was comparable to that of Quebec and Ontario combined. Alexander (1983:61) concludes "If one is searching for explanations of Maritime economic problems in the period, inquiry into the farm sector will not yield large dividends."

The forestry industry, Alexander (1983:63) suggests, is more important in explaining "sluggish" growth in the Maritimes. The difficulties caused in the lumber industry by "demand shifts and supply competition" resulted in a long period of depression in the industry. This was offset in the 1930s by the pulp and paper industry; however, this industry also had an output growth that was slower than that in Canada (Ibid.).

Upon examining the mining industry, Alexander (1983:65) states that this industry, "because of its instability and harsh working conditions, has had a greater social and economic impact on the Atlantic region than is reflected in its contribution to output." Output and growth performance fluctuated during this period and Nova Scotia "dominated mining" in the Maritimes, particularly because of its coal reserves. Until the inter-war period, the per capita mineral output was much higher in the Maritimes than in Canada; however, the mining industry's growth performance became slower during this period and continued to be comparatively slow. The reasons for this change include the American competition within the coal industry, the lack of new mining frontiers and the "post-war shift to alternative fuels" (Ibid.).

The fishing industry was characterized by a relatively low growth rate, which is often the case with a "large and old" industry (Ibid.:66). It was later "overwhelmed by troubles" between 1910-39 because the industry depended "extraordinarily" upon international trade and

> returns to production factors were especially sensitive to the host of inter-war disturbances, including the post-war inflation, rising protectionism, the Depression, and the collapse of the multilateral payments system in the 1930's. (Ibid.:66)

The output growth contracted resulting in negative growth.

Manufacturing was an industry of fluctuating growth. During the period around 1890, the Maritimes output improved relative to Canada, with much of this output consisting of "unsophisticated raw material processing and small shop output" (Ibid.:67). As has been discussed previously in this section, the manufacturing industry in the Maritimes subsequently declined in its position relative to that of Canada.

When taken together, the pattern of economic growth is as follows: "Relative to Canada, the Maritimes accounted for 14 per cent of goods production in 1880, only 9 per cent in 1911, and 5 per cent by 1939" (Ibid.:68). During the 1911-39 period, "the data do pinpoint the relative weakening of finished goods production in the Maritimes relative to Canada" (Ibid.); yet, manufacturing growth was necessary for the Maritimes to maintain its "stature within Canada." The reasoning behind this suggestion is that the resource sectors of the Maritimes had been developed already and could not be targets for expansion. After evaluating the potential of each sector, Alexander (1983:72) concludes

> Thus, while margins for gains exist in any sector in any economy, it is clear that if the Maritimes was to maintain its relative well-being and stature within the country, it had to be secured in the finished goods sector.

Alexander (1983:72) then suggests that in responding to the question of whether it was possible for the Maritimes to achieve the Canadian rate of growth in manufacturing, "the truthful answer is that we do not know, and perhaps in the historical sense it is unknowable." He acknowledges the work that has been done by Forbes, Acheson and others in providing clues to the answer, but concludes that much more work still needs to be done. Until that has been accomplished he believes that the best conclusion is that

> manufacturing in the Maritimes for the national market did involve locational costs, but that it was rendered virtually impossible by national transportation policy and the absence of national incentives to overcome the disadvantages. (Ibid.:73)

He aptly summarizes the situation of the Maritimes during this period:

> If one accepts that a basic objective of any country is to equalize opportunities across the land and to implement policies which ultimately turn regional diseconomies into positive advantages, then the legitimate grievance of the Maritimes is that there was no place for it in twentieth-century Canada. (Ibid.)

Summary

A set of images emerges when the historical background of the Maritimes and Nova Scotia is reviewed. The pre-Confederation era image is one of initial hope for a prosperous future in the Atlantic Provinces built upon the resources of land and sea. This image also includes both the prosperity of the Maritimes as a world maritime commercial power during the Maritimes' Golden Years and the subsequent foreboding threat to the Maritimes' economy that changing conditions were bringing.

The image of the Confederation era is one of hope for political union solving the difficulties of the separate colonies including the problems of changed British policy and potential American aggression. Mixed with this hope was the Maritimes' fear of becoming a dependency of the new nation.

The post-Confederation era image for the Maritimes is one of short-lived prosperity and subsequent decline. The National Policy encouraged industrialization and the growth of manufacturing. Changing conditions including shifts in centres of supply and demand and increases in freight rates caused economic problems. Amidst these problems regional discontent arose. Industries became increasingly externally-owned and with an extended post-war economic slump the Maritimes declined in influence relative to

Canada. In addition to this image of decline is that of a spark of energy ignited by the Maritime Rights Movement. Although the Maritimes subsequently gained the attention of the federal government and obtained increased subsidies, economic problems continued and the Maritimes declined in status within the Dominion. It is within this broader backdrop of Maritime and Nova Scotian history that the particular locale of eastern Nova Scotia is subsequently explored.

CHAPTER 6

The Antigonish Movement

The Antigonish Movement has been described as: "a blending of adult education, Christian ethics and a program of social justice, directed through a university extension department" (Laidlaw, 1961:58); "a program of social action, adult education, self-help and cooperative development that arose in Eastern Nova Scotia[1] in the 1920's and reached its peak in the 1930's" (Lotz, 1977:102); and "a cooperative movement, based on a special kind of adult education," by enlightening the farmers and the fishermen "in regard to their economic helplessness and organize them as co-owners of new enterprises for the distribution and, in some cases, the production of goods" (Baum, 1980:191). Each of these definitions adds certain elements to produce a more complete picture of the Antigonish Movement, a social movement which derived its name from the fact that the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, which provided the direction for the movement, was located in Antigonish, eastern Nova Scotia. As the conditions of eastern Nova Scotia, as well as influences from abroad, gave rise to the creation of the movement, it is necessary to explore these various aspects to obtain a contextual understanding of past events. To this end, the historical, social, economic and religious conditions of eastern Nova Scotia are examined in this section. In addition, the outside influences which contributed to the birth and evolution of the Antigonish Movement are also discussed. This discussion is followed by an outline of the development and the work of the Antigonish Movement.

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[1] Eastern Nova Scotia refers to the seven eastern counties of Nova Scotia (Pictou, Guysborough, Antigonish, Inverness, Victoria, Richmond and Cape Breton) the boundaries of which are also co-terminous with those of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Antigonish.

Context of the Antigonish Movement: Historical, Social, Economic and Religious

Settlement

The eastern Nova Scotia area was settled mainly by Catholic Highland Scots. In addition there were other ethnic and religious groupings including Scots Presbyterian Highlanders, Scots Presbyterian Lowlanders, Irish Catholics, Acadians and Loyalists (MacInnes, 1978:78). Indeed, the Scots constituted such a majority of the new settlers, especially during the migration period of 1827-38, that "in their settlement, religion was a predominant factor in creating Catholic Inverness and Antigonish Counties and Presbyterian Pictou and Victoria Counties" (Ibid.).

The strength of this Catholic identity was not dependent upon numbers alone. Whereas the Scots Catholics were characterized by their "monolithic religious expression," the Presbyterians were characterized by splits within the practice of their religion (Ibid.:80). The Irish and Loyalists generally settled among other ethnic groups, without creating distinctive settlements. The Acadians, who were "invariably Catholic" and had predated other ethnic groups in eastern Nova Scotia, were concentrated in population around the fishery in the Cheticamp area of Inverness County and in Richmond County, both on Cape Breton Island (Ibid.:81). This pattern of settlement was the result of the deportation of the Acadians from their homelands by the English in 1755. The deportation plan was arranged through a collaboration between the Colonial Government and fishing enterpreneurs. In reaction to this enforced resettlement, some Acadians formed their own "illegitimate communities away from authorities" (Ibid.). Thus, while the Canadian Almanac of 1931 recorded that four of the seven counties of eastern Nova Scotia had a Catholic population of over fifty per cent (mainland: Antigonish; Cape Breton Island: Cape Breton, Inverness and Richmond) the other aspect of the Catholic presence, that of its relative homogeneity is noteworthy:

> Eastern Nova Scotia is the home of a homogeneous group of Catholics, mainly Highland Scots with a minority of Irishmen blended in, who make up a substantial part of the total population and constitute a cohesive, popular Catholic culture to which there is no parallel in other English-speaking parts of Canada. (Baum, 1980:189)

It has been suggested that the isolation of the Scots Catholics in their subsistence farming-fishing communities "produced a faithful replica of Scottish culture as it had existed in the Highlands of Scotland" (MacInnes, 1978:105).

Occupations

These Highland Scots pursued a life of subsistence farming which in some parts of eastern Nova Scotia yielded only a meagre living. Because these people relied upon a system of self-help and mutual aid during crises, a close-knit, self-sufficient economy was created with no tradition of trading. An outsider became the merchant or middleman, buying the surplus of the production and supplying the manufactured goods (Lotz, 1975:100). Small, one-family farms dominated the area and were particularly affected by the emigration of the young people to the "Boston States" and to Upper Canada after the mid-nineteenth century. Later, the great movement of the rural population to the new industrial towns (such as New Glasgow and those in industrial Cape Breton) to work in the coal mines, steel plants and factories at the end of the nineteenth century also changed rural life. During the period 1891-1931, "the population of the seven counties of Nova Scotia dropped from 131,886 to 105,279" (Ibid.:101).

The decline of the rural areas included the reduction of local services such as small country stores, rural doctors and lawyers. With the gradual shift from a subsistence-based to a market-based economy, farmers were being pushed deeper into debt, poverty and dependency. The farmers often "owed their livelihood to the middlemen who bought their products, extended credit, and supplied them with such little luxuries as tea and sugar" (Ibid.:102). Given this bleak existence, it is not surprising that the young were leaving and that their parents were almost bankrupting themselves to assist their sons and daughters in obtaining an education, thereby escaping the tough life on the land.

The counties of eastern Nova Scotia were populated by fishermen as well as farmers, and often the occupation of these people was that of combined farmer-fisherman. The lot of the fisherman was quite similar to that of the farmer: having very low earnings and being constantly in debt. A typical example of the type of transaction which occurred between the fisherman and the middleman was as follows: the middleman (such as American packers) supplied the fisherman with fishing equipment at the highest possible price and then later bought the fisherman's fish at the lowest possible price (McDonald, 1938:86). These fishermen were the "sharecroppers of the sea" while the merchants made a profit from both ends of the transaction.

In the industrial towns, mainly in Cape Breton county, the miners and steelworkers worked and lived. The rapid growth in population in the cities created problems such as slums around the industrial city of Sydney. The miners lived in a relationship of economic dependence with a different middleman, the coal company. The coal companies owned most of the housing, operated hospitals, health insurance schemes and company stores which became known as the infamous "pluck me stores." "The miners owed their souls to the company stores" (Lotz, 1977:102). The extent of the miners' entrapment in this situation is expressed in the song "The Pluck Me Store" which the author heard in Glace Bay in 1976 during a performance of "The Men of the Deeps," North America's only miners' choir. The chorus as recorded by The Men of the Deeps (1967) is as follows:

> The Pluck Me Store, The Pluck Me Store
> We have to deal at the Pluck Me Store
> And only a little cash is left
> When bills are paid at the Pluck Me Store.

In one of the verses, the Pluck Me Store is referred to as "the only store we know" and the ironic bond that was formed was evident in the phrase "We thought we were poorly treated boys when no . . . work was found. But many a grimy tear was shed when the Pluck Me burned to the ground." The way in which the companies controlled the workers' lives was reminiscent of the feudal system. Although the working conditions were terrible, most men did not complain publicly, for anyone trying to organize the workers was fired by the company. The living conditions within the company housing were no better:

> In 1920, the Duncan Royal Commission on the Coal Industry reported: ". . . the housing, domestic surroundings and sanitary conditions of the mines are, with few exceptions, absolutely wretched." (Ibid.:103)

As noted by Acheson (1972) and referred to earlier in this chapter, by 1920 there were no successful local industralists owning the mining and steel companies. These industries were owned by the large British Empire Steel Corporation, thereby allowing foreign management to make decisions about the Cape Breton branch plants from the standpoint of their international concerns. The workers and their families were dependent upon these external executives who did not have roots in the community and could make decisions without regard for the well-being of the workers and residents. Thus, making a living was difficult in the 1920s whether as a worker in the industrial centres, as a farmer or as a fisherman. The poverty of those working in primary production and the extractive industries was such that "in these parts (the counties of eastern Nova Scotia) the Depression had already begun in the Twenties" (Baum, 1980:190).

Economic Conditions

These descriptions of the hardships experienced by the great proportion of the residents of eastern Nova Scotia reflect the local conditions usually emphasized by writers who have documented the movement: rural depopulation, rise of industrialism, loss of ownership and control, the creation of a class of industrial workers who lacked their own means of production and sold their labour to live, impoverishment and feelings of powerlessness (Sacouman, 1979:109). An alternative perspective has been suggested by Sacouman (1976, 1979) who states that these descriptions neglect the social structural factors that he believes may explain the people's receptivity to the Antigonish Movement's cooperative program:

> In short, capitalist underdevelopment in Atlantic Canada has for many years capitalized two exportable commodities: raw materials and human labour. However, within eastern Nova Scotia at least, underdevelopment has been uneven in effect upon primary production, leading to differing class structures in each of the major sections of primary production. Understanding these various structures of underdevelopment is crucial in explaining the uneven success of the movement. (Sacouman, 1979:110)

Sacouman's descriptive analysis of the economic conditions of eastern Nova Scotia focuses upon capitalist underdevelopment because he takes for granted a proposition that he acknowledges is "far from widely accepted," namely that:

> fundamentally, underdevelpment in Atlantic Canada is a result neither of the natural or human resource deficiences of the region, nor of the unfair treatment accorded the eastermost provinces by the more powerful central and western ones, but of capitalist development itself. (Brym and Sacouman, 1979:9)

Using a Marxist analysis, he examines the various economic sectors which became involved in the Antigonish Movement. One of his assumptions is that capitalism causes control over productive resources to become increasingly concentrated, creating underdevelopment to prevent the rate of profit from falling, thereby ensuring capitalist growth. Methods he cites of protecting the profit rate include discovering or creating new markets, sources of cheap labour and sources of cheap raw material. Cheap labour and cheap raw material are what is generally provided by underdeveloped regions (Ibid.:11-12). Sacouman's (1979:113-119) description of the coal and steel industry, and the agricultural and fisheries sectors is summarized briefly.

> The coal and steel industry was characterized by
>
> battles between primarily outside capitalists for control of the coal fields and steel plants, by concentration of external capital, by centralization of productive secondary manufacturing outside eastern Nova Scotia, and by capitalist/working-class conflict. (Sacouman, 1979:113)

The coal production which "peaked in 1913" never recovered (Ibid.). The majority of the coal produced was sent to central Canada as steel facilities in Nova Scotia used only twenty-five per cent of local coal. These factories and steel facilities in central Canada were often owned by Dominion Steel itself or by some of its owners, who were often Montreal-based. The consequences of this external concentration and centralization were felt by the workers and whole communities as twenty per cent of Nova Scotia's population was "wholly or in part dependent on the coal and steel industry" (Ibid.:114). Such communities experienced severe hardship during the depression of the 1930s, sometimes having an unemployment rate of seventy per cent. Sacouman (1979:114) maintains that

> direct capitalist underdevelopment provided the most fundamental structural basis for the high incidence of Antigonish co-operative formation in the coal and steel communities, given the decline of effective and militant trade unionism/socialism.

The agricultural sector between 1871 and 1941 maintained a "traditional petit-bourgeois structure" with the farms being owned by the operator. Of the farms which continued to be occupied during this period of rural depopulation, most were still operator-owned although capital investment and capital holdings were on a "small scale" (Ibid.). The kind of farming done was generally subsistence farming with eastern Nova Scotia possessing twenty per cent more subsistence farms than the provincial average. While this type of farming provided more security during crisis times, the standard of living was lower than that for industries which were "more in the mainstream of capitalist development" (Ibid.:116). The long-term nature of this subsistence agriculture was the main indicator of its underdevelopment; yet this underdevelopment was different from that of the coal and steel and fishery industries. In contrast to the coal and steel industry situation, Sacouman (1979:116) suggests that "the lack of direct underdevelopment by large-scale capital provided the principal structural basis for the lack of Antigonish cooperative formation in the agricultural areas of the region."

The fisheries sector of the economy had yet a different structure. Not only was it even less capitalized than agriculture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but it also was being threatened by "externally owned, vertically integrated" fish corporations (Ibid.:117). These companies which bought the fishermen's catch and sold them fishing equipment and other provisions also used trawlers and employed labour. Given such competition and alternative opportunities for employment in the coal and steel industries and in America, the number of fishermen declined. A depression in fish prices began in 1921. In spite of this, there were still inshore fishermen who continued their trade; however, they were not able to obtain enough funds to replace their "minimal equipment" and got caught in a cycle of "capital deterioration" and insufficient funds (Ibid.). Thus, Sacouman (1979:119) concludes:

> Direct underdevelopment of the small-scale "independent" fisheries in eastern Nova Scotia, together with a high degree of community dependence on the large fish companies, was the principal basis for the higher incidence of Antigonish Movement co-operative formation in the fishing areas of the region. Direct underdevelopment and dependence also provided a structural linkage across class boundaries between the working class of the coal and steel primary production sector and the petite bourgeoisie of the fisheries sector, both class segments having the same structural "enemy," capitalist underdevelopment.

He views this across-class linkage as crucial to the movement's success. The Antigonish Movement during the 1930s, he believes, provided the program which fostered the working together of these groups and thus enabled them to integrate their efforts in cooperative endeavours.

Clearly, the economic hardships of the farmers, fishermen and coal and steel workers were great indeed. These hardships are affirmed by all who write about the Antigonish Movement, regardless of whether they attribute the cause to the decline of local conditions by industrialism, rural depopulation and so forth or whether the cause is seen to be capitalist underdevelopment. That the action taken to ameliorate these dire circumstances was influenced greatly by the people's perspective of the causative elements is important to note. So, too, is the fact that various forces acted to shape their thinking about their lives and the larger world within which they lived.

Religious Influence

For a great proportion of the people of eastern Nova Scotia the Catholic religion was one such influence. The fact that Coady and Tompkins and other priests involved in the Antigonish Movement had studied in Rome meant that there was increased potential for a closer affiliation of the Catholic Church in eastern Nova Scotia (the diocese of Antigonish) with Rome. Indeed, in writing about the movement various authors have suggested that these leaders were trying to implement the teachings and encyclicals of the Catholic Church (Pluta and Kontak, 1976:164; Laidlaw, 1961). Such an assertion may be supported by the fact that "in the spring of 1938 the Bishop of Antigonish received a letter from the Vatican conveying the approval of Pope Pius XI for the Antigonish Movement" (Lotz, 1972:109).

What, then, were those teachings and encyclicals of the Catholic Church that would have informed and inspired the priests associated with the Antigonish Movement? To shed some light on the answer, the work of Richard Camp in his doctoral study, later published as The Papal Ideology of Social Reform: Study in Historical Development 1878-1967, is highlighted. In selecting this particular work as the source for this discussion, two comments are necessary. Firstly, Camp (1969:vii) selected as his focus what he judged to be "the most significant contributions of the papacy to a Christian reform of the society which emerged from the political and social revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." Thus the teachings which did not deal with social issues were not examined. Secondly, Camp's work differs from other studies of Vatican social doctrines which used a topical approach without an historical perspective. In contrast, Camp's (Ibid.) study was a "critical analysis of the historical development of the major social ideals of the papacy related to the historical situation within which, and often in response to which, these ideals evolved." Given that within this present study there is also the same underlying assumption of the relevance and importance of a critical analysis of historical developments, Camp's work was considered to be the most appropriate source.

Having said this, it must be added that it is outside the scope of this study to examine the many and various historical events and political forces within which Camp's study is grounded. Indeed, in extracting relevant portions of Camp's work for identifying sources of inspiration for the priests, the topics may well appear somewhat ahistorical. Although an attempt to minimize this danger is made by giving brief statements about the context within which each pope worked, it is not possible to describe the details of the industrialism of Europe nor the conflicts and alliances between various countries, and notably the political forces within Italy itself, with which the papacy had to deal. To obtain this detail, reading of Camp's work is recommended.

In considering the relationship between the Church of Rome and change, it has been suggested that the Church was threatened by

> such historical urban developments as merchants (Protestant Reformation); democrats (French Revolution); science (The Enlightenment); industry (The Industrial Revolution); and workers (The Russian Revolution) as contrasted with the stability of religiosity in rural settings among homogeneous cultural groups. (MacInnes, 1978:143)

The reaction of the Church at the time of the Counter-Reformation and counter-revolution movements created a climate of defensiveness, and placed great emphasis upon discipline and loyalty and "counter-offensive polemicism" (Ibid.:141). At that time some Catholics throughout the world did not subscribe to the Church's official position with respect to change and sought reforms in the areas of "political liberty, the independence of peoples, freedom and the spread of technical and industrial improvements" (Ibid.:144). Until the time of Pope Leo XIII in 1878 such attitudes and actions were condemned by the papacy.

The two popes whose teachings and encyclicals would have informed and inspired Coady and the other priests of the Antigonish Movement were Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) and Pope Pius XI (1922-1939)[1]. Pope Leo XIII's teachings marked the beginning of modern Catholic social thinking. In coming to terms with the results of industrialization and the migration of people to the urban centres, he provided the Church with a new orientation. The leadership provided by Pope Leo XIII and then by Pope Pius XI is described in the next several pages. This summary is based upon Camp's (1969) work exclusively.

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[1] The author is grateful to Father Michael Ryan of St. Peter's Seminary, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario for this information and references. His lecture "Social Justice," February, 1984, provided helpful insight.

Pope Leo XIII did not support the previous Vatican policy of denunciation of and opposition to modern society. Viewing that policy as counter-productive to achieving "the mission of the Church in the world," he advocated that the Church be "reconciled" to society. He also wanted to "expand the influence of the papacy and the Church in all areas of life" and accordingly believed that the papacy was required to "speak out" on economic and social issues (Ibid.:11). His major contribution, "a controversial" one, to Catholic intellectual life was the encouragement of the study of the work of Thomas Aquinas, a philosopher within the realist tradition (Ibid.).

Before examining Pope Leo XIII's specific writings, his position about social reform in general will be reviewed. The type of social order to which each pope (with the exception of Pope Pius XI) believed society should be transformed rested on "general moral principles" which reflected his vision of a "just" society (Ibid.:25). Such general tenets did not outline corresponding structural arrangements. Pope Pius XI, however, was different in that he did describe an ideal social order.

The enemies of Christian social order had been seen as the "liberal individualistic spirit" of the French Revolution and the industrial revolution which had destroyed the guilds of the Middle Ages (Ibid.:26). The Catholic answer which developed was represented by different positions.

One position, held by Perin, advocated no change in capitalism but rather sought reform which was a "moral reform" of the individual and led to the suggestion of increased charity. A second perspective called "corporatism" was put forward by du Pin who outlined a social system within which prices and wages in each trade would be regulated by a workers' association. The employers who were in control would regulate operations "paternalistically." The vision held by du Pin was one in which these "corporations" would own all property, and also "replace liberal democratic parliaments" and private property ownership (Ibid.). A third position then arose, espoused by Ketteler. He suggested that the answer should be a "gradual reform" of capitalism, speculating that industrial capitalism would remain (Ibid.:27). He believed that the injustices of capitalism could be corrected. It is this third stance that became Pope Leo XIII's position.

Pope Leo XIII's stance on social reform was consistent with his view of sociey. He saw society as a "living entity," an organism similar to the human body in that it had a head and various diverse members (Ibid.:29). With this idea he rejected the "eighteenth century rationalist theory" which suggested that an agreed-upon "social contract" formed the foundation of society. Pope Leo XIII believed that the "social body" was not formed by the various individuals' voluntary acts but rather that society's members belonged to it because of their "natural instincts" that God created within them, "human needs which could not be satisfied in isolation" (Ibid.). He believed that God created society and that man did not. He rejected the theory that society was just an "aggregate of individuals." In this view of society as an organism, Pope Leo XIII assumed that "inequalities were natural" and he thus rejected the demand for equality on the basis that men were not equal because they possessed "different abilities" (Ibid.).

Pope Leo XIII wrote many encyclicals on the needs of the working man and became known as "The Pope of the Working Man." He also wrote about the problems of "labour and capital, the social duties of the state, and socialism and communism" (Ibid.:12). _Rerum Novarum_ (1891) was his most important encyclical, outlining the conditions of the workers and the Catholic Church's proposals for improving the situation. Today, it still remains as one of the "leading social documents" (Ibid.). _Rerum Novarum_ and the other encyclicals were written not only to "preserve the loyalty of the workers" but also as part of a basic policy of giving the Catholic Church a "meaningful voice in the major issues of the day" (Ibid.:13).

One of the major issues of the day dealt with socialism and communism. In the 1860s the two prominent socialist viewpoints were that of the scientific socialism of Karl Marx, which dominated the international socialist movement, and that of the anarchist school of Michael Bakunin (Ibid.:50). Pope Leo XIII considered the socialist movement a great danger. To him its goals and ideals had nothing in common with those of the Christian Church and he thought that all Christians must "unite to cleanse society" of this movement which he considered as a threat to the "existence of the social order" (Ibid.). He wrote an encyclical about the errors of socialism and communism. He identified the "first 'error' of socialist dogma" as its rejection of the "authority of higher powers" and its support for the idea of "social equality" (Ibid.:52). He also disagreed with the attack upon the right to private property since this attack threatened the "right" ordering of society. The socialists, he thought, also "debased and endangered family union." They were, in short, "a menace" to the institutions in which he believed (Ibid.).

With the ascension of Leo XIII to the papacy, there was the beginning of papal concern with "convincing" the working classes that the Catholic Church wanted to reform their condition and knew how to do it (Ibid.:77). Pope Leo XIII identified the "elimination of poverty" as the most effective weapon against socialism (Ibid.:79). In his encyclical on the rights and duties of labour and capital, he suggested that this elimination of poverty was not to be attempted through the "temporary measure" of charity but rather through a "permanent readjustment" of both the standard of living and the position in society of the workers. Social ills could be remedied, he thought, by all classes fulfilling their duties. Employers, for example, were to "treat the workers as brothers," with fairness and justice, while the employees were to resign themselves to a "life of labour and its consequences" (Ibid.:80). "Resigning themselves" meant fulfilling their roles as workers without expecting to become other than workers (his idea of the organic union of people in society precluded class conflict). Regarding wages, he declared that there was a certain level below which it was unacceptable for wages to be set (Ibid.:83).

The labour reform program of Pope Leo XIII was concerned with distributing wealth more equitably. This was a serious problem in his era. In Rerum Novarum he proclaimed that the widespread "violation of workers' rights" occurred through no fault of their own and he was inclined to implicate "industry and industrialists for the suffering of the working class" (Ibid.:86). In direct contrast to socialism, he wanted to make the institution of private property open to more people, rather than eliminate it. He proposed a "pragmatic blueprint" for "regenerating" the working class within the existing economic institutions (Ibid.). Thus, the intention was to enable the labourer to assume a respected position in society. Pope Leo XIII ensured that the Church spoke to the workers and he also "inspired" Catholics at large to adopt "the labourers' cause." In writing Rerum Novarum, in particular, he demonstrated unique "vision and courage" that had not been seen before his time in the papacy (Ibid.).

Pope Leo XIII believed that it was important to encourage the establishment of Catholic organizations to carry out the principles of social reform. Social Catholics [a movement which reacted to the plight of the working class by advocating reforms (Baum, 1980)] who were developing their own social organizations such as "study congresses, mutual aid associations and labour organizations" (in spite of the opposition of the Catholic bourgeoisie) were doing the work the pope advocated (Ibid.:112). He assisted them in overcoming opposition by stating that his hope for social reform was in such organizations which were "independent from the state and devoted to Catholic principles" (Ibid.). He relied more upon these organizations for achieving reform than he did upon state intervention. The unions were seen by Pope Leo XIII as more of a means of "protecting the worker from exploitation" and less as a means of reducing radicalism (Ibid.:113). He also sympathized with the workers' sentiment of preferring to protect their interests through organizations in which leadership was provided by their own members rather than by those of the upper classes. Pope

Leo XIII bolstered the prestige of the Catholic social groups in affirming their right to "protect the masses" (Ibid.:116).

With respect to the social role of the state, Pope Leo XIII was concerned about governments which did not make "significant interventions" in the area of social problems (Ibid.:138). As this non-interventionist policy was the general tendency among the governments in Europe during Pope Leo's period, his interventionist position as articulated in Rerum Novarum was "bold" and "unpopular;" however, as is characteristic of a social reformer, he did not change his stance on the interventionist issue (Ibid.:143).

In summary, Pope Leo XIII sought social reform within the modern society. With a pronounced concern for those of the working class, he advocated measures of change to ameliorate the workers' lot within the existing structures of society. Although he supported state intervention in areas of social reform, he placed more hope for success in Catholic social organizations. He opposed socialism and communism and considered these movements a threat.

A successor to Pope Leo XIII, Pope Pius XI also wrote encyclicals about various social issues. His particular focus was upon the "hardships of the depression" and the problems which arose from the "growth of socialism, communism, and fascism" (Ibid.:18). His most important encyclical was Quadragesimo Anno (1931). In it, he discussed a range of social problems and supported the need for a "Christian social program" (Ibid.).

Pope Pius XI's view of the nature of what the reformed social order should be differed somewhat from that held by Pope Leo XIII. Pope Pius XI actually outlined an ideal social order. His view was that a new structure should be developed which contained a "new set of intermediary associations" within a hierarchical structure (Ibid.:36). There is debate about whether his ideal order contained an element somewhat similar to the corporative system.

In other ways, however, Pope Pius XI's teachings and writings were similar to those of Pope Leo XIII. Concerning socialism and communism, Pope Pius XI wrote in a similar manner to Pope Leo XIII but did alter some of his ideas. For instance, Pope Pius XI tended to view the socialists as less of a unified force than had been assessed previously. He considered the socialists to be divided among themselves. In his criticisms he concentrated more upon the "brutalities of the left" (Ibid.:52).

With respect to the rights and duties of labour and capital, Pope Pius XI, like Pope Leo XIII, demanded that justice be given by capitalists to workers through "basic economic reforms of labour conditions" (Ibid.:95). He told the rich that much would be expected of them because they had been given much and that they would be judged by Christ on "the way they treated the poor." The poor were advised not to forget "spiritual riches" while pursuing their "legitimate efforts to improve themselves." From both rich and poor he requested a "burying of enmities" and a "mutual alliance" to reduce the economic hardships of the times, such as unemployment (Ibid.).

In addition, Pope Pius XI wanted "controls on the prices of goods" (Ibid.). He was also similar to Pope Leo XIII in that he opposed the corporatists' rejection of the capitalists. In fact, he explored the relationship between the "profits of the capitalists, properly invested, and economic growth; between economic growth and full employment; and between full employment and general prosperity" (Ibid.:98). It was also in his writings that the term "social justice" was found (Ibid.:99). He described this concept as demanding that each person be supplied with whatever was necessary to allow him or her to perform the "required social functions" for the "common good." This idea of justice was different from the notion of charity. Charity was considered to be assistance to those whose poverty did not result "from exploitation." Thus, workers were not to receive as charity that which they were entitled to receive as justice (Ibid.).

Pope Pius XI shared Pope Leo XIII's support for the involvement of Catholic organizations in Christian social reform. He stated that the number of clergy was insufficient to carry on the Church's mission of "Christianizing" and achieving social reform, and thus the laity had to share in these tasks (Ibid.:123). The Catholic Action groups were seen by Pope Pius XI as involved in studying the great problems which concerned society and then working towards their solution in accordance with the "principles of justice and Christian charity" (Ibid.:125). The conditions at that time were that the working classes were in "misery" and "communist propaganda" was spreading throughout them. It was thought that Catholic Action groups could reduce both this misery and the influence of communism by satisfying the workers' "material needs" as well as their "spiritual" ones (Ibid.). This uplifting of the working class was considered to be best achieved by the Christian labourers themselves. In addition, Pope Pius XI wanted intermediary associations established that both workers and employers would join, as he believed that social conflict could be reduced by bringing different "social classes together in the same organization" (Ibid.:128).

Pope Pius XI was also in full agreement with Pope Leo XIII that the state had "extensive obligations" in the area of social reform (Ibid.:143). The governments which had implemented the "social legislation" outlined in _Rerum Novarum_ were "commended" by him. He also outlined the responsibility of the state for reforming the institutions according to his plan for "social reconstruction." He wanted the state to establish the intermediate associations which he believed would encourage "cooperation" rather than "conflict" in labour and management relations (Ibid.).

In summary, Pope Pius XI continued the tradition of social reform which had been initiated by Pope Leo XIII. In keeping with these beginning thrusts, Pope Pius XI also supported the work of the laity and Catholic social organizations for reforms and took particular interest in that work which aimed to assist the working class, including efforts of the working class members themselves to better their conditions. He also supported state intervention in the area of social reform and provided an outline of the role he wished the state to assume in establishing the associations he deemed necessary in his structural arrangement of the ideal society. Socialism and communism were targets of his attack and he acknowledged the contribution of social reform in undercutting the strength of these movements.

In addition to presenting this historical analysis of the ideology of papal social reform, Camp (1969:158) also supplies some evaluative comments concerning the meaning of the papal heritage. Specifically, he addresses the issues of its evolution, meaning and impact. Within this evolution, Pope Leo XIII's mark was his view that social reform involved the protection of the poor from exploitation by the privileged and powerful within the capitalist system (Ibid.). Thus, he saw reforms to the capitalist system as the answer (so that more could benefit from it) rather than a restructuring of the system. Such reform included the action of Christian organizations in advocating justice. Pope Pius XI's characteristic mark was his outline for structural reform which included the development of associations which would bring together employers and workers (Ibid.:159). His reforms were also aimed at reducing the abuses of capitalism rather than replacing it.

Regarding the contribution made by the Vatican to the program of Christian social reform, Camp (1969:160) suggests that although the popes' social doctrines were "not original" but rather a reflection of the viewpoints of selected "social ideologists," the stance taken by the popes influenced the Catholic social program. Camp (1969:160), however, did not view this influence as having been always a constructive one. He suggests that the nineteenth-century popes attributed poverty to the faults of the "capitalist system" and to the "motives" of both capitalists and socialists. Camp (Ibid.) puts forward the idea that Pope Leo XIII in particular could have considered the possible role of "expanding and modernizing industrial production" in creating more wealth as a means towards reducing poverty. Pope Pius XI continued to criticize the capitalists but Camp (1969:161) considers him to have had a more sympathetic attitude towards the view that a relationship existed between economic growth and general well-being. Both popes took a consistently strong stance against the socialists and this attitude was characteristic of their encyclicals which were disseminated to Catholics throughout the world.

Camp (1969:163) suggests that one of the reasons for the papacy's involvement in social reform was to allow for socially-minded Catholics to engage in social action within the confines of the Catholic Church. It was mainly through such Catholic organizations and institutions as the Catholic labour unions, mutual aid societies and others that papal doctrine had an impact. He assesses that some of the causes championed by these organizations have enjoyed considerable success since the Second World War, such as "state social security, protection for the rights of the family, state aid to agriculture and small business, and the extension of the institution of property" (Camp,1969:164). Camp asserts that such success did not draw Europe's secular population to the Christian faith in widespread fashion; however, he cites a change in attitude of the workers in France, namely, the recognition that the Catholic Church can have meaning in the contemporary industrial society and show concern for them. Camp (1969:165) believes that it is possible that the papal doctrines of social reform may have been partly responsible for this transformation of view.

It is within this ideological spirit that Tompkins, Coady and several other eastern Nova Scotian Catholic priests studied in Rome and Europe. Their overseas training gave them a first-hand opportunity to explore the details of the doctrines emanating from Rome and to interact with scholars and colleagues from different countries. That these experiences may have reinforced these eastern Nova Scotia priests' commitment to social justice and imbued them with a broader, less parochial perspective is most probable. At the very least, their connection with Rome and Europe enabled them to bring well-informed views back to eastern Nova Scotia on the major issues facing the Catholic Church and its stance towards meeting these challenges. The influence of the papal ideology of social reform upon Coady in particular is considered later in Chapter 8. At this point, it suffices to mention that the Catholic Church's doctrine was an undeniable influence upon the thinking and behaviour of both the Catholic priests and laity of eastern Nova Scotia. It is with this historical, social and religious context in mind that the development of the Antigonish Movement is examined. The dominant image of eastern Nova Scotia in this pre-Antigonish Movement era is one of an area reeling from the blows of economic deterioration. Whatever the reasons for this deterioration, the declining population and workers with their hardships within the depressed economy stand out as haunting silhouettes on a bleak background.

Summary

The Antigonish Movement arose in eastern Nova Scotia in the context of particular historical, social, economic and religious forces. Eastern Nova Scotia was settled mainly by Catholic Highland Scots who pursued a life of farming. In addition, many people were fishermen or held both occupations as farmer-fishermen. The rural areas were experiencing the effects of rural depopulation. The industrial towns experienced rapid population growth and the miners and steelworkers generally lived in wretched company towns or industrial slums. The economic hardships were experienced by all of these groups: farmers, fishermen, and industrial workers.

These harsh economic conditions have been explained by most writers, who have documented the movement, as the result of rural depopulation, the rise of industrialism, the loss of ownership and control, the creation of a class of industrial workers who lacked their own means of production and had to sell their labour to live, impoverishment, and feelings of powerlessness. An alternative perspective outlines the cause of such economic hardships as capitalist underdevelopment.

The Catholic religion was an influential force in the lives of many of the people of eastern Nova Scotia. Of particular significance was the fact that the papal encyclicals of that time were promoting social reform within the modern society and articulating a pronounced concern for the working class. Such doctrines in turn informed the thinking of the Catholic leadership including the Antigonish Movement leaders.

The Development of the Antigonish Movement

In 1928, St. Francis Xavier University officially established the Department of Extension with Moses Coady as its director. During the fall of 1930, after Coady had completed both his study of adult education institutions and his organizing work with the fishermen, the Extension Department was opened in full force. These events are generally viewed as the official launching of the Antigonish Movement; however, there also exists a rich history of the development of the movement, of the people, events and their interactions which led to the birth of the movement.

The pioneers of the movement, as they are frequently named, included Dr. James Tompkins, Dr. Hugh MacPherson and Dr. Moses Coady, all of whom were priests. Other clerics were also part of this leadership cadre (another common name for these men) in a less prominent way and will be identified in context. The Antigonish Movement has been seen by various writers as consisting of different stages including those of early development, educational and organizational phases. The sketch which follows traces briefly the development of the Antigonish Movement through these different periods of time. The delineation of these time periods is taken from the work of Frank Mifflen (1974).

Early Development, First Stage: 1911-21

During this decade a number of events took place which have been chronicled as contributing to the development of the movement. In various accounts of the Antigonish Movement, Father James Tompkins has been named the founding father. "Father Jimmy" who had joined St. Francis Xavier University in 1902 as a professor had become, within a few years, the vice-president of the university. In 1912, Tompkins travelled to England to attend a conference at which he became acquainted with the extension work of the University of Wisconsin (Laidlaw, 1961:62). He subsequently studied the activities of the British Workers' Education Associations, the Danish Folk Schools, the Swedish Discussion Circles and the activities of some universities in Scotland and Ireland which were developing educational programs for people not on campus. Tompkins was influenced by the ideas of Bishop O'Dwyer concerning the role of the university in solving rural poverty in Ireland (Lotz, 1975:105). Within Canada, he was impressed by the University of Saskatchewan's agricultural program, Quebec's agricultural colleges "that trained farmers' sons in scientific methods" and Quebec's "caisses populaires," the co-operative banks (Laidlaw, 1961:63). These endeavours inspired Tompkins as he pondered the rightful role of the university in the community.

Yet, neither Tompkins nor other Antigonish Movement pioneers acted in isolation. In 1913, a number of Antigonish Catholic and Protestant clerics, merchants, lawyers, and successful farmers organized "The Forward Movement" to promote progress and prosperity in the town of Antigonish (MacInnes, 1978:153). MacInnes (1978) records that the Antigonish weekly The Casket publicized this movement and both Tompkins' suggestion of holding a market day to bring together the town and country and Coady's suggestion of developing some form of cooperation in the town for marketing goods (Ibid.). The Forward Movement of 1913-14 was significant, MacInnes (1978:156) suggests, because it encouraged public discussion on solutions to economic problems (including those of agriculture and rural areas) and provided a "testing ground" for the ideas of college faculty of which Tompkins and Coady were both members.

Another testing ground for the ideas of these cleric-academics as well as of agriculturalists, priests and academics was provided through The Casket. In a column started in 1918 entitled "FOR THE PEOPLE: Devoted Mainly to Social, Economic and Educational Affairs" they were able to express their view that through education people could learn how to take part in society, especially in the economic processes, and thereby derive the proper benefit that was due to them. This applied particularly to the rural areas which had experienced great losses. The focus of this column was so consistently clear that it later became "FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT" and had a section for each of the concerns of "Agriculture" and "Education" (MacInnes, 1978:158-9,166). Tompkins wrote some of the articles in this column and thereby was able to articulate the philosophy of education that he was developing.

In 1921, Tompkins publicly consolidated his thoughts about education by writing, publishing and distributing a pamphlet entitled Knowledge for the People. The concern he addressed was that of bringing some relevant or "useful" education to the people of the community who would never be entering the halls of academe. He challenged directly those at St. Francis Xavier University to begin immediately the task of addressing this issue. In so doing, he advised that the educators should take their lead from the people of the community by listening to them describe what they identified as their educational needs and wants (Tompkins, 1921:25-30). Tompkins wanted the university to go out to the people.

In that same year of 1921, the first "People's School" was held at St. Francis Xavier University. This two-month session (January 17 to March 12) brought together 51 people ranging in age from 17 to 57 years. They were already working in an occupation, principally farming. The subjects dealt with during this program were "English, Economics, Public Speaking, Mathematics and Agriculture" (Laidlaw, 1961:57,64). This People's School was held three more times with 60 people in attendance at the one in Antigonish, 1922, and with the other two being held in the following years in Glace Bay, industrial Cape Breton (Ibid.:64). These People's Schools were designed on the basis of Bishop Grundtvig's Danish Folkschule which had enabled seventy per cent of the people of Denmark to receive college instruction (McDonald, 1938:35). Yet, Tompkins was not satisfied that the People's School which he had been instrumental in organizing met adequately the needs of the community people. A problem with the approach of the People's School was that people had to leave their communities to attend the classes. In this fashion, the number of people receiving education would be limited. Again, his concern for taking the university to the people led him to consider ways in which the university could work effectively with larger numbers of people in their communities (Mifflen, 1974:10). As is examined later, Tompkins experimented with the process of organizing the community to use the study club approach.

It must also be noted that during this period another St. Francis Xavier University professor, Dr. Hugh MacPherson, was also working outside of the traditional classroom setting. He, like Tompkins and Coady, had studied in Europe after graduating from St. Francis Xavier. While in Europe, he became acquainted with the idea of cooperatives and after his return to Antigonish did some pioneering work in organizing them. The first endeavour was a small fertilizer cooperative in 1912 and the second was a producer cooperative in 1914 dealing with the grading and marketing of lambs' wool (MacPherson in Laidlaw, 1961:61). In addition to teaching classes, he also managed the farm at the college and assisted farmers with their problems. At one point he worked as an extension worker with the Department of Agriculture of Nova Scotia. He was, in fact, the first such agricultural worker in the Maritimes (Laidlaw, 1961:61). MacPherson's efforts were evident also in the People's School; indeed, it was formed "under the aegis of Dr. MacPherson" (McDonald, 1938:35).

It would appear that initially the focus of those involved in these earlier activities of the movement was towards improving conditions in the rural areas. In 1922 an event occurred which brought Tompkins into direct involvement with the fishermen. Tompkins, in December 1922, was sent as parish priest to Canso, a small and very poor fishing village in Guysborough County. Canso was about one hundred miles from Antigonish and was "regarded as the outpost of the diocese" (Archives in Mifflen, 1974:11). The reason for this transfer, or banishment as it has been interpreted, was that the bishop of the Diocese was displeased with Tompkins' view and activities regarding a plan for the federation of the universities in the Maritimes (Johnson, 1960:555). Tompkins had supported this idea of union and had been active for five years in developing the plan. The Carnegie Foundation of New York had assisted in working on this problem and was prepared to fund the project (Mifflen, 1974:10-11; Lotz, 1975:108); however, the Bishop opposed the idea and removed Tompkins from the university. So it was that Tompkins came to work in such a radically different environment.

Mifflen (1974:11) suggests that this event, while most distressing for Tompkins, provided an opportunity for Tompkins to make a most valuable contribution to the development of the movement. Indeed, Tompkins' work in the fishing community of Little Dover, also part of his pastorate, has been referred to as the cornerstone of the movement or in McDonald's (1938:86) words, "the experiment on which the whole St. Francis Xavier movement basically is founded." The details of Tompkins' work in Little Dover are available elsewhere (Fowler, 1938:37ff) but it is important to review briefly the activities he instigated and the way in which he initiated action.

In Little Dover, Tompkins saw an extreme example of the hardships of a community of fishermen trying to survive in the face of the exploitation they experienced at the hands of absentee owners who made large profits both by selling items to the fishermen and by buying fish from them. In response, Tompkins encouraged the community members to examine their difficulties with a view towards resolving them. He organized a program of adult education which he conducted on Saturday nights, often bringing in guest speakers (McDonald, 1938:86). As usual, he continued to prod people by distributing pamphlets and newspaper clippings and talking to the people (Lotz, 1973:103). As a result of mass meetings held, study clubs were formed to assist the people in understanding some causes for their situation and some alternative courses of action they could pursue. A major project that Tompkins facilitated was that of a lobster factory, built and operated by the fishermen. In time, the people of Little Dover began to develop other cooperative projects. Through the efforts of Tompkins and the community people, the effectiveness of the strategy of taking education to the people had been demonstrated.

During this first stage of development various networks and groups of people, of which Tompkins was always a part and often the instigator, formed to articulate and put into practice new educational ideas. Drawing upon the experiences of adult educators abroad and responding to the social, economic and educational needs of people in eastern Nova Scotia, Tompkins worked with other leaders and community people to bring about some change in the situation. Initially, such efforts were directed towards raising such issues publicly through verbal discussions, written articles in *The Casket* and Tompkins' personal reflections published in *Knowledge for the People*. Later, a practical endeavour was undertaken in launching the People's School. Even more germane to the development of the Antigonish Movement was the community work led by Tompkins in Little Dover, ironically work that he initiated when he was no longer in Antigonish nor in the university. So important was this work as a prototype that in one analysis of the development of the movement, Tompkins' work at Little Dover was considered to be the start of the organizational phase of the movement which followed the educational phase of "social animation"/"conscientization" (Lotz, 1973:100).

Early Development, Second Stage: Early 1920s

After the People's Schools had been organized another event took place which brought together the clergy of the diocese of Antigonish to discuss social and economic problems of the community and region. This was known as the Rural Conference, with the first one being held in 1924 on the St. Francis Xavier University campus. This conference became an annual event and later, in 1934, was renamed the Rural and Industrial Conference, reflecting the expansion in the scope of concern and involvement.

At these conferences, the problems of the rural areas were discussed. As has been outlined previously, the issue was that of rural depopulation and decline. The topics which were the subject of many papers presented at these conferences included population loss, "vacant farms, agricultural education, immigration and land settlement, organization of farmers, training of young women for rural life, rural high schools" (Laidlaw, 1961:65) and other issues which had an impact upon the quality of rural life.

The conference participants took action to meet some of these needs, in small measure, by raising $2,500 per year for five years so that young men from the farms could attend short courses at Truro Agricultural College (Lotz, 1975:108). It is interesting to note that throughout these conferences, as revealed by an analysis of the minutes, repeated suggestions were made for the establishment of an extension program by the St. Francis Xavier University.

It has been cited often that the roots of the Antigonish Movement lay in the despair of those people left behind as others abandoned the rural areas for the industrial work of the cities' steel mills, mines and factories (MacInnes, 1978:114; Lotz, 1975:101). This concern for the plight of the farmers and the push for some resolution of these problems by the creation of an extension department became the mission of not only the Rural Conferences but also of two other groups, namely the St. Francis Xavier University Alumni Society and the Scottish Catholic Society.

The impact of the work of those at the Rural Conferences reverberated to other groups. Indeed, such an effect was assisted by the fact that many of the prominent leaders of the Conference became associated with both the Alumni and Scottish Catholic Societies. These men spoke whenever possible to promote the development of a university extension department and thereby encouraged or even "steered" these groups into becoming advocates for this new educational creation (Laidlaw, 1961:66; MacInnes, 1978:191).

The Alumni Association in 1928 sent one of its committees to a meeting of the Board of Governors of the University. There, the committee made a strong request that action be taken. Subsequently, the Board of Governors passed a resolution approving the establishment of university extension work, as outlined by the Alumni Committee, and approving the appointment of a man to direct this work (Laidlaw, 1961:66). Coady was appointed to fill this position as the Director of the Extension Department and then spent six months examining adult education in Canada and the United States. Yet, this resolution marked only the formal beginning of the Extension Department.

The pressure exerted by the Scottish Catholic Society is reported as having accelerated the timing of the operational phase of the Extension Department. This Society did not have a tradition or ideology of social justice reform and has been described as a "conservative" group that was concerned with stopping the flow of emigration from the rural areas (Baum, 1980:192). The motivation for reform that was to be found in the Scottish Catholic Society was rooted in traditional rural life, religion and "Scots ethnicity" (MacInnes, 1978:185).

Nevertheless, this group believed that extension education could revitalize the rural areas and prodded the University to approve a budget for the new department and thereby enabled its effective organization. The Society prodded the University by specifying how the Society would use the money it had raised and earmarked for supporting the Extension Department. Because the Society considered the University was lagging behind in its efforts at organizing this new department, the Society announced that it would develop such a program of its own. The University then acted, in the summer of 1930, to approve the budget.

It is not surprising that Coady attributed the responsibility for the creation of the Extension Department to Father Michael Gillis who lobbied for this program through the organizations of the Clergy Conference, the Alumni

Association and the Scottish Catholic Society (Coady in Laidlaw, 1961:67). Father John R. MacDonald and Dr. Hugh MacPherson also assisted in this campaign. These men along with Coady and Tompkins and a few others made contact with the federal and provincial governments as well as the Carnegie Corporation to provide funds for the extension work. In this way, a small group was able to launch the "co-operative attack" on the situation in eastern Nova Scotia (Sacouman, 1976:7) and promote adult education for social action.

Tompkins' influence was also apparent during this second phase of the early development of the movement, even though he was working in isolation from his colleagues of the town of Antigonish. As has been mentioned previously, his work in Little Dover provided the organizational base for the work of the movement that was later carried out in the 1930s. In addition, Tompkins in 1924 travelled to New York to attend a meeting of the Carnegie Corporation. At this meeting, which was held for the purpose of organizing the American Association for Adult Education, issues about adult education were discussed. Tompkins suggested that cooperatives and credit unions could serve as "practical vehicles" for adult education (Lotz, 1973:102). Dr. Edward Thorndike was present and was assigned the duty of chairing a research committee to examine the "question" of adult education (McDonald, 1938:86). The influence of

Thorndike's work within the movement will be commented upon later. It is noteworthy that the Carnegie Corporation gave much of the financial support needed by the Antigonish Movement (Lotz, 1975:109).

One of the major ways in which Tompkins' actions made an impact upon the movement during this phase was through raising public concern about the fishing industry. In 1923, he began to call for a study of this industry (Mifflen, 1974:13). In July, 1927, when steam trawlers had pulled in a great amount of fish thereby depressing the prices, Tompkins organized a meeting of the fishermen in Canso. Soon afterwards, he held another meeting, this time in Antigonish with priests from the fishing villages in attendance. The press was also invited. As a result of the agitation surrounding this issue a Royal Commission on the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and Magdalen Islands was established on October 7, 1927 and reported its findings on May 4, 1928 (Lotz, 1975:110).

Coady made a presentation to the Commission. His suggestion for improving the fisheries was to implement a program of adult education and cooperative organization among the fishermen. This idea was well received by the Commission members and they recommended that, in addition to banning trawlers, the establishment of cooperatives among the fishermen be encouraged. Coady was requested by the Federal Government in 1929 to organize the fishermen of the Maritimes. This he did when he returned after examining the adult education practices in Canada and the United States. Coady was involved in this undertaking until June 1930 at which point he had assembled 208 representatives of fishermen's groups and assisted them in creating the United Maritime Fishermen (Ibid.). Now the Antigonish Movement that had been developing over the past several years had a solid basis for dealing with the concerns of the fishermen as well as the farmers.

When Coady was able to devote himself to the work of the Extension Department on a full-time basis, he was joined by A. B. MacDonald who was also a St. Francis Xavier University graduate and a native of the county of Antigonish. MacDonald's special training in agriculture, his previous organizational work among farmers and his involvement with the school system gave him the appropriate background for his role at the Extension Department. It has been suggested that MacDonald complemented well Coady's skills and abilities and that together they formed an effective team (Laidlaw, 1961:69). An analogy which is made fairly frequently when referring to Tompkins, Coady and MacDonald is that Tompkins was the prophet who cried out in the wilderness, Coady was the messiah and MacDonald was the organizer (Lotz, 1975:100). Yet, it is important to emphasize that the work of the movement was carried out by many community people, those to whom Coady (1939) dedicated his book, Masters of their Own Destiny:

To all those
unnamed
noble souls
who without remuneration
are working overtime
in
the cause of humanity.

Summary

The Antigonish Movement's development was outlined as having occurred in two stages which spanned a period of almost twenty years. The pioneers of the Antigonish Movement (Tompkins, Coady and MacPherson) worked with others to raise the public's awareness about social, educational and economic issues. Ideas gleaned from abroad were tried such as the folk school and cooperatives. Upon his banishment to Canso, Tompkins began his work of adult education and cooperative development which became the cornerstone of the practice of the Antigonish Movement.

In Antigonish a number of different groups including the Rural Conferences and the Scottish Catholic Society promoted the creation of an extension department. Through a combination of forces and a series of events the Extension Department was formed in 1928 and became functional in 1930. These forces and events are summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Forces/Events Leading to the Establishment of St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department

Forces: Events

Early Development - Stage 1 (1911-1921)

1912	Tompkins - England. Learned of extension and adult education techniques used internationally
1913-14	The Forward Movement
1918	"For the People" column in *The Casket*
1921	Tompkins' *Knowledge for the People*
1921	People's School

Also associated with Stage 1: Tompkins' transfer to Canso, his work at Little Dover

Early Development - Stage 2 (1920-1930)

1924	Rural Conference
1924	Tompkins attended meeting of Carnegie Corporation re: adult education
1927	Tompkins' agitation re: fisheries. Royal Commission appointed
1928	Coady's presentation to Commission advocating co-operatives and adult education
1928	St. Francis Xavier Alumni Association resolution to establish Extension Department. Coady appointed Director.
1928	Coady examines adult education in Canada and U.S.A.
1929	Coady hired by Federal Government to organize fishermen
1930	Scottish Catholic Society proposes to set up independent program of education
1930	St. Francis Xavier approves budget for Extension Department. A.B. MacDonald hired.

Figure 1 (Continued)

Situational Forces

Context of Eastern Nova Scotia

- Settlement: mainly Catholic Highland Scots; also, Scots Presbyterian, Irish Catholics, Acadians and Loyalists
- Occupations: subsistence farming, industrial jobs -- mines, steel mills and factories, fishing, combined farmer-fisherman (these are major occupations)
- Social
- Economic
- Political

Network of Leaders

- Tompkins, Coady, MacPherson, Gillis, and J. MacDonald

International Influences

- Roman Catholic Church of Rome
- Adult Education
- Cooperative Movement
- Credit Union
- Carnegie Corporation

The Work of the Antigonish Movement

The work of the Extension Department began in the summer of 1930 and built upon the foundations that had been laid during the early development of the Antigonish Movement. It is interesting to note that Coady has recounted how Tompkins had suggested the establishment of an extension department as early as 1918 (Coady in Mifflen, 1974:13). The work of the St. Francis Xavier University

Extension Department, work which became known as the Antigonish Movement, will be reviewed briefly with particular emphasis upon its purpose, philosophy, program and activities, method and techniques, organizational linkages, specific projects (cooperatives, credit unions, industrial workers' programs, women's programs) and evaluative perspectives.

Purpose

The general purpose was stated as: "The improvement of the economic, social, educational and religious condition of the people of eastern Nova Scotia" (Co-op League, 1935:48).

Philosophy

In many publications of the Extension Department, there have been reprinted six principles of the Antigonish Movement. These principles were outlined originally by Professor Harry Johnson in a lecture in 1944 (Laidlaw, 1961:136 n.1). He suggested that they constituted the "essence" of the philosophy of the movement and are as follows:

> the primacy of the individual, that social reform must come through education, that education must begin with the economic, that education must be through group action, that effective social reform involves fundamental changes in social and economic institutions and that the ultimate objective of the movement is a full and abundant life for everyone in the community. (Johnson, 1944:7-9)

Laidlaw expands upon these and other themes, underlining that the "concern for the common man" was basic to the philosophy of the program, that "Economic Co-operation" was one of the most important aspects of the philosophy of the movement, that education was the "key to social progress" and that the movement's philosophy was rooted in Christian philosophy (Laidlaw, 1961:98,107,100,110). In summary, those of the Antigonish Movement believed that through education and economic cooperation the common people could obtain a measure of social progress. More detail about this philosophy is provided in Chapter 8 within which Coady's writings are interpreted.

Program and Activities

To achieve its stated purpose an outline of work for the Extension Department was developed. This plan included assessing the economic, social and educational possibilities of eastern Nova Scotia. Emphasis was placed upon working with agencies already in the field and opening up new territory for the purpose of extending the work of the Department. The educational activities proposed included "high school and credit type" programs such as short courses, study clubs, correspondence and radio courses, night schools and the development of technical and folk schools. The "non-credit type" programs included the programs already mentioned and in addition general lectures, libraries, publication of pamphlets and an Extension bulletin, and the organization of debates and recreational clubs (Co-op League, 1935:49). A complete listing of these programs is found in Appendix E. Of this complete list, the majority of activities were implemented with the exception of the "older form of extension teaching" such as correspondence courses and college-credit courses (Laidlaw, 1961:72). Thus the emphasis of the Extension Department's program was upon the less formal educational activities.

Method and Technique

The main educational method which characterized the Antigonish Movement was the study club within which people would "follow a systematic program of reading, discussion and argument" (Coady in Laidlaw, 1961:74). Laidlaw (1961:75) suggests that the best contribution of the Antigonish Movement to the development of adult education in Canada was the use of the study club.

The study club, however, was not an isolated method; rather, it was part of a process which was aimed at mobilizing community people for study and action (See Extension Department, n.d.). The first event in this process was the "mass meeting" at which Coady usually spoke to inspire the people towards considering alternative possibilities to their present state of existence. Such a meeting itself required organizational work on the part of both Extension workers and key community people to attract a large number of people to the meeting (Coady, 1939:30). After the mass meeting, some people volunteered for the study club.

Coady, in reflecting upon the earliest study clubs, suggested that the results of many of these initial attempts were discouraging because the Extension workers did not suggest that the people study economic ventures which the people could undertake and in which they could experience results; rather, the first clubs' education was characterized by Coady as "often superficial and unapplicable to the needs of the individuals" (Coady, 1939:43). Later, the accepted method for the procedure of the study clubs was that community people would organize themselves into study groups to acquire relevant information for which they could later move into action in a socio-economic way, usually by forming cooperatives.

Coady noted that the early Antigonish Movement cooperatives had not been preceded always by such group study (Coady, 1939:44). The pattern which developed and has become associated with the adult educational approach of the movement is that of mass meetings and study clubs which frequently spawned the development of cooperatives or credit unions. Coady (1939:65) himself, called the study club the "main educational lever."

The study clubs themselves provided an opportunity for members to become acquainted with the concerns of people beyond their own circle. Monthly rallies were held for study club leaders, clubs within a certain territory met monthly at "associated club" meetings and from time to time people of a certain occupation met to discuss common issues (Ibid.). Members of study clubs had an opportunity to assemble at an annual conference held at the University. This conference was known as the Rural and Industrial Conference which had grown out of the earlier Rural or Clergy Conferences (Laidlaw, 1961:75). The Extension Department also formed a Debating League in 1933 and sponsored public speaking contests (Coady, 1933:6).

The School for Leaders was another opportunity for community people to meet with others from various locations who were engaged in similar endeavours. These community leaders met for a residential six-week course at the University. There they pursued studies in topics related to their undertakings such as:

> Arithmetic, Business English, Bookkeeping, Citizenship, Elementary Economics, History and Principles of Co-operation, Co-operative Business Practices, Community Programs, Debates, and Public Speaking. (Ibid.:10)

The residential nature of the program provided the opportunity for the group to form a community within which it struggled with similar issues to those that would be encountered in the home communities. Demonstrations of study and discussion groups took place and the leaders were acquainted with methods to assist them in directing the social and economic projects in their community. Added to these learning experiences was a measure of "inspiration" to bolster the morale of the leaders. Coady considered the School for Leaders to be a very successful endeavour. In fact, he evaluated it as the most successful technique of the Extension Department (Ibid.:61).

The main educational methods and techniques used by the Antigonish Movement workers were the mass meeting, the study and discussion group, meetings and conferences of the members and leaders of these study clubs, and the School for Leaders.

Organization of the Antigonish Movement and Support from the Extension Department

The work of the Antigonish Movement was accomplished by the work of a small, paid staff and of a large contingent of volunteer workers. Various accounts of the movement depicted these volunteers, often clergy or teachers, as the backbone of the organization, through whom the actual work was done. The organization of the Diocese of Antigonish, with its structure of parishes, meant that an initial point of contact with various communities could be made with the parish priest. While in some cases the parish priest was not a supporter of the movement (Lotz, 1973:102), the work of the Antigonish Movement did receive great support in predominantly Catholic communities with study clubs emanating from the parish centres (MacInnes, 1978:225). Yet, the movement was not a parochial one.

Indeed, Coady said that "co-operation knows no denominational boundaries." Evidence of this view was shown by the recruitment of such Protestant ministers as Rev. J. D. Nelson MacDonald to the work of the movement. Gregory Baum (1980:191) states that, from the beginning, the movement was "ecumenical before the word became current in its present meaning."

The Extension Department staff provided various kinds of support to these local communities. From Coady came the inspiration, ideas and dynamic presentation at mass meetings. From A. B. MacDonald came the assistance in the organizational work of setting up study clubs, and later cooperatives and credit unions. When the Extension Department extended its work among women and to the industrial areas, in 1933, two additional workers were hired, Sister Marie Michael and labour leader Alex MacIntyre, respectively. The staff grew in number such that by 1940 there were fifteen full-time members and twenty part-time workers (Archives in Mifflen, 1974:19).

In addition to supplying this consultative support, the Extension Department also disseminated written material to the study clubs. Such material first came in the form of mimeographed papers about cooperative methods and pamphlets dealing with various specific topics considered relevant to the study clubs. Yet, such piecemeal measures were thought to be insufficient, as Coady stated that "we concluded that we needed an organ to convey our message to the people" (Coady, 1939:63). Thus, in 1933, _The Extension Bulletin_ came into being both to stimulate interest and to provide a channel for the distribution of "orderly study material" (Ibid.). _The Extension Bulletin_ was published by the Extension Department until the co-operative movement had grown to the point of supporting its own publication, which was called _The Maritime Co-operator_ and was the successor to _The Extension Bulletin_ (Laidlaw, 1961:81). The Extension Department also developed a library service (Central libraries in Antigonish and Glace Bay) and a system of travelling libraries. Thus, through mimeographed papers, pamphlets, newspapers, and library books, the Extension Department disseminated the written word to the people in the local communities.

The work of the Antigonish Movement proceeded through the combined efforts of Extension staff and local volunteers. Both staff and volunteers used a variety of educational methods and materials.

Organizational Linkages

The Extension Department and its network of volunteers did not work in isolation. The Department aimed to work with other agencies which shared its concerns. Even before Coady set into motion the work of the Extension Department, he was employed by another agency and given a mandate and task similar to that which he later undertook at the

Extension Department. This earlier work resulted from the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Fisheries which stated that fishermen's cooperative societies should be founded for the marketing of produce and the buying of supplies. As has been previously described, Coady was appointed by the Civil Service Commission as Promoter of the Fishermen's Organization and his work visiting Maritime fishing communities and forming local fishermen's associations led to the formation of the United Maritime Fishermen (UMF) association.

In addition to its role in transacting business and promoting educational activities, the UMF also had an educational role "by encouraging the study of co-operative principles" and "circulating information among the fishermen" (UMF constitution in McDonald, 1939:97). After the Extension Department was opened, close ties developed between it and the UMF. The UMF "used the Extension Department as their educational arm" (MacInnes, 1978:271). The reciprocal nature of this relationship is shown by the fact that, beginning in 1937, the Extension Department received an annual educational grant from the Federal Government's Department of Fisheries. This grant was earmarked for use among the fishing communities. By 1955, this grant supported half of the Extension Department's $90,000 budget (Laidlaw, 1961:91).

Another agency with which the Extension Department worked was the Provincial Department of Agriculture of Nova Scotia. In fact, the launching of the new work of the Extension Department took place at a meeting which was jointly sponsored by Extension and the fieldworkers of the Department of Agriculture (Ibid.:72). In this way, the technical expertise of the agriculturalists could complement the organizational network that the Extension Department was developing.

Although the association of the Extension Department with labour organizations was not a direct one, as in the case of the fisheries and agriculture, a link was made when the Extension Department hired the labour leader Alex MacIntyre to work in the industrial areas among the miners. This connection will be explored when describing the establishment of the credit unions.

Thus, the Extension Department forged working relationships with different agencies which shared the goal of promoting the social, economic and educational betterment of eastern Nova Scotians. While this had programmatic benefits, it also had financial benefits in the case of obtaining grants from the federal government. In this regard, it has been previously described how the Scottish Catholic Society financially assisted the Extension Department in its initial stages. Likewise in 1932, the Carnegie Corporation of New York provided tangible support to the program, giving a five-year grant of $35,000 (Coady, 1940:14). The importance of these relationships with these funding bodies cannot be underestimated. Indeed, without them, it is unlikely that the program could have continued in the form that it did as the University in 1938 did make reference to its difficulty in "carrying the burden of the Extension Department" and the "danger" of having to "curtail the expenditure of the Extension Department" (Report in Laidlaw, 1961:90). Even with such support, the problem of financing its work continually plagued the Extension Department.

Laidlaw points out that the Extension Department played a developmental role in creating and financing organizations that later became self-supporting through independent organizations. They included The Maritime Co-operator and the educational work of both the Nova Scotia Credit Union League and the Nova Scotia Cooperative Union (Laidlaw, 1961:91). The Extension Department, therefore, was able to extend its work through its collaborative and developmental work with other organizations.

Cooperatives

The work of the study clubs frequently led to the establishment of cooperatives or credit unions. The steady upward trend in the number of study clubs provided a substantial base for interest in such projects. For example, during the initial year 1930-31, 192 general meetings were held with 14,856 people in attendance. 173 study clubs were established with 1,384 members (McDonald, 1938:47). These numbers continued to increase and in 1935, after the Extension Department had added two new staff members, 940 study clubs had been formed with a membership of 10,650 people. By 1938, 1,110 study clubs had been formed with 10,000 members (Archives in Mifflen, 1974:20).

As Coady himself has pointed out, the cooperatives that were first established in Nova Scotia pre-dated the development of the Antigonish Movement. The first one was a consumer cooperative established by the coal miners in Stellarton in 1861 (Laidlaw, 1961:83). Other cooperative endeavours were undertaken too, but with the occasional exception, such as the British Canadian Cooperative Society established in 1906 by British miners on Cape Breton, cooperatives did not sustain themselves (Laidlaw, 1961:83; Lotz, 1977:103). Lotz (1977:103) attributed such failure to improper management techniques and domination by a few individuals while Laidlaw (1961:83) claimed that cooperatives waned for "lack of education." In contrast, when the Extension Department entered the field of establishing cooperatives, the department's focus upon the educational component was very strong. The Extension Department provided the necessary educational foundation, facilitated the organization of new societies of various types and brought together various organizations "in a people's movement and gave them a sense of social purpose" (Ibid.).

The source of inspiration for Tompkins and Coady for developing cooperatives was the experience of the British and Scandinavians in cooperative ventures. When reviewing the humble beginnings upon which the British Cooperative Movement was built, it is not difficult to understand why Tompkins and Coady saw cooperation as a universally applicable technique. It was in 1844 in the industrial town of Rochdale in northern England, that a group of weavers (factory workers) struggling for survival started a cooperative store in the basement of an old warehouse on Toad Lane. They began by selling the most basic of staples: flour, butter, sugar and oatmeal. They formed the "Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers" which grew in number and spawned the beginnings of the British Cooperative Movement (McDonald, 1938:9).

The cooperative philosophy, principles and techniques adopted by these Rochdale pioneers were also consistent with those of the Antigonish Movement, making the widespread use of "cooperation" by the movement an endeavour compatible with its own thrust. The shared concerns of the worth of the individual, the value of education, the reform of economic practices through group action and the necessity of democratic practices can be seen by reviewing a summary of these early efforts in 1844. The Rochdale pioneers' rules upon which subsequent cooperative action was founded were as follows:

1. One Member - One Vote
2. No discrimination on basis of race, nationality, politics, or religion
3. Open membership
4. Profits are returned to members on basis of volume of business done with cooperative
5. Limited interest on capital
6. Cash trading
7. Continuous education

(MacIntyre in Mifflen, 1974:18).

The concept of mutual aid embodied in these principles stands in stark contrast to the view that Coady held of the merchants of the day, that of oppressive profiteers. Cooperatives fostered the communal gain of its members rather than the gain of competitive individuals. Helping oneself through membership in a cooperative also meant helping others, thus providing a service. The underlying orientation of cooperatives was that of service, rather than the "profit motive" (Ibid.:19).

The cooperatives which were initiated as part of the work of the Antigonish Movement were both producer and consumer cooperatives. These organizations enabled people to sell their products at a higher price than they had been receiving, and to buy their supplies at a lower price than they had been paying. The strength in numbers of people acting collectively produced a challenge to merchant middlemen or companies which had previously enjoyed a monopoly situation.

Some examples of these cooperatives in the early 1930s were the cooperative lobster canneries among the fishermen and the farmers' cooperative clubs through which feed and fertilizer were purchased (Laidlaw, 1961:84). Some producer cooperatives were established among the farmers after the Extension Department had acquainted the farmers with the necessity of grading products, developing marketing organizations, dealing in greater volume and acknowledging that the individual seller was a figure from the past (McDonald, 1938:106). Cooperative stores, of which the cooperative buying clubs were often the forerunner, were also established. As is shown in Table 1 (taken from

Table 1

Growth of Cooperatives in Nova Scotia, 1932-1936

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Study Clubs	179	350	650	940	860	1,013	1,110
Membership	1,500	5,250	6,000	10,650	8,000	10,000	10,000
Credit Unions	8	19	27	45	65	90	142
Co-op Stores	2	4	6	8	18	25	39
Co-op Buying Clubs			3	10	5	3	4
Co-op Fish Plants		3	5	5	10	11	11
Co-op Lobster Factories		8	12	14	17	17	17
Other Co-ops			2	2	2	7	7

Source: Archives, (RG30-3/25/975) in Mifflen, 1974:20.

Mifflen, 1974:20), the Extension Department and its associated volunteers organized a large number of cooperative enterprises, including credit unions.

Credit Unions

Whereas the producer and consumer cooperatives tended to be most suited to the needs of the farmers and fishermen, the credit union was a project that was suited to the needs of the industrial workers as well. The credit union also was considered to be an elementary form of cooperation, and thus a training ground and stepping stone to other cooperative endeavours. It was also hoped that the establishment of credit unions would provide the source of funds for financing cooperative endeavours as the conventional means of obtaining credit did not provide the advantages that credit unions could give.

As with the cooperatives, the example of established credit unions came from outside, in this case from Levis, Quebec. It was here in 1900 that the first credit union (caisse populaire) in North America was opened. The credit union movement then spread to the New England states (McDonald, 1938:58). Tompkins persuaded Coady to invite Roy Bergengren, the national organizer of the credit union movement in the United States, to a conference in 1931. There Bergengren discussed the philosophy of credit unions. The message was favourably received. Bergengren then prepared the Credit Union Act for Nova Scotia. This bill was passed by the Nova Scotia legislature in 1932. Credit unions were then established in many communities as the Extension Department workers assisted in setting up these organizations (Arsenault in Laidlaw, 1961:85). As shown by Table 1, credit unions became very prolific, reaching 142 in number by 1938.

It is interesting to note again the influence of Tompkins in initiating the idea of credit unions. In the isolated village of Canso, he established study clubs and introduced the concept of credit unions. It was Canso that was the first English-speaking community in Canada to consider setting up a credit union. Tompkins acted as a catalyst in paving the way for credit unions to become rooted in Nova Scotia. From here the movement spread to other parts of English Canada (Ibid.). Unlike the cooperatives, which had been first established in Nova Scotia prior to the Antigonish Movement, the credit unions were first introduced to Nova Scotia by those within the Antigonish Movement.

Industrial Workers' Programs

The work of the Antigonish Movement which began with the needs of the fishermen and farmers, diversified in 1932 and included a focus upon the concerns of the workers in industrial urban centres, such as the miners of Cape Breton. Coady (1933) acknowledged that many of the specifics of the fishermen's and farmers' programs were not appropriate for the industrial workers but claimed that the philosophy and some programs were appropriate. He also believed that the Extension Department's success with these other groups assisted it in gaining acceptance among the miners, at a time when "radical groups" were also competing for their attention (Ibid.:11).

Coady (1933:11-12) suggested that an examination of the situation of these workers identified the need for action for a number of reasons: firstly, the existence of a large number of "propertyless wage-earners" meant that there was a group vulnerable to the influence of a "radical agitator;" secondly, the serious unemployment situation could increase the probability of the "defection" of many workers from the Church; thirdly, a program that would provide social justice to the workers could provide a substitute for the "allurements of Socialism and Communism;" and fourthly, the inter-dependence of primary producers and workers necessitated that a program be developed which would solve their common difficulties.

The type of action which Coady (1933:14) suggested would help to remedy this bleak situation was to educate people towards gaining some control over their own "economic destiny" making possible the day when they could own their own homes and become rooted in the affairs of the community.

As has been outlined in Chapter 5, the despair of the workers was great. Labour relations had erupted in strikes in 1919. When the markets for coal declined, the industry slumped during the recession and subsequent depression. The economic dependence of the workers upon the decisions of industrial management made their situation precarious. It was at such a time that the Extension Department promoted the message of the Catholic Church as applied to the problems of workers in society. The papal encyclicals were unequivocal in their support of the rights of workers. Extension Department leaders worked to obtain acceptance of these teachings by the clergy and laity, both progressive and conservative elements alike (Laidlaw, 1961:79).

Among the workers study clubs were formed. After studying social and economic principles, the consumer co-operative and credit union movements, and social insurance schemes, the groups moved on to establishing credit unions and entering the consumer cooperatives in their communities (Coady, 1933:14). Indeed, every recorded study group in the urban centres during 1933-34 resulted in the formation of a credit union within an average of one and one-half years of the club's genesis (MacInnes, 1978:239).

The appropriateness of the credit union organization for the urban areas is demonstrated by the fact that while the median time for the transformation of study clubs to credit unions during the period 1933-38 was 2.6 years, the urban ones formed within 1.5 years whereas the rural ones formed within 3.2 years (MacInnes, 1978:247). Heterogenous rural communities took an average of 6 months longer to form a credit union than did Catholic communities (Ibid.:239). While MacInnes (1978:247) has suggested, from an analysis of data, that such factors as technical assistance, geography, language, ethnicity and religion (i.e. some parish priests were acquainted with Extension staff) contributed to differences in rural credit union formation, he concluded that the success in the urban centres was because of the great need there for credit facilities, especially with the high rate of unemployment and lack of subsistence agriculture of the rural areas.

The Extension Department opened an office in the industrial town of Sydney in 1933. Alex MacIntyre, who had been a labour leader among the miners, had been fired for organizing, and blacklisted by the Dominion Coal Company. He was hired by the Extension Department and became one of the leaders of the Antigonish Movement (Mifflen, 1974:118). His efforts were instrumental in setting up the large number of study clubs throughout the industrial area.

When reviewing the results of the educational activities among the industrial workers, Coady (1933:15) highlighted not only the establishment of the self-help movement through study clubs but also the reduction of the "radical agitation" of the area, citing some "conversions" of industrial workers from Communism to the Antigonish Movement. Coady (1933:16) also noted how the Extension Department assisted the cause of the workers in promoting the League for Social Justice. This group was established in 1932 to encourage professional people to understand the problems of the "common man" and thereby bring a more enlightened attitude to community living. This group studied the Papal Encyclicals Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno. The Extension Department also provided material about the Church's position on social and economic issues.

Another program which took root among the workers in the industrial area was cooperative housing. Again, Tompkins was the driving force behind this endeavour. He had moved in 1935 from Canso to Reserve Mines, a Cape Breton coal mining town near Sydney. In this town, a credit union had been started in 1932 (Lotz, 1973:107). A number of study clubs existed and a library, which began on Tompkins' porch, became established and sowed the seeds for the Provincial Regional Library System (Ibid.). The suggestion to study housing problems came from a community member (who put the request in the church question box) and was supported by Tompkins who encouraged a cooperative approach to dealing with the problem; however, had it not been for the assistance and work of Mary Arnold the cooperative housing program may well have not got off the ground (Mifflen, 1974:132).

She had had experience with cooperative housing programs in New York, and while meeting with Tompkins to discuss the Antigonish Movement she decided to stay to work with the cooperative housing group. She was hired by the Extension Department as a fieldworker. This group studied the situation for about a year, formed the Arnold Housing Corporation in 1937 and then built eleven houses. Through this cooperative housing program, families who could not otherwise build a home were able to own their own homes. (Mifflen, 1974:2,133). When the houses were completed, the area was named Tompkinsville and was formally opened in 1938 (Lotz, 1973:108). Mary Arnold (1940) wrote a book, The Story of Tompkinsville, outlining the history of what was the beginning of the cooperative housing program in Nova Scotia.

The programs with the workers of the industrial areas were geared to their specific needs, including developing credit unions and cooperative housing. In addition, the workers' cause was promoted through study by the professional class of the plight and the rights of the working class in society.

Women's Programs

Although many women took an active part in "the men's study clubs" (Coady, 1939:60) the need arose for organizational work to be carried out among the women. Accordingly, the Extension Department opened a women's division in 1933, and hired Sister Marie Michael who had training in "Canadian Domestic Science Schools" (Laidlaw, 1961:87). Coady (1939:60) emphasized that this program had the same aims as that for the men, namely, sparking the interest of the women in the adult education movement and encouraging them to become involved in cooperative projects in their communities.

The topics of the study clubs included "a study of the forces that affect the social and economic welfare of the people, health, nutrition, household economics, rural recreation and handicrafts" (Extension Reports in Laidlaw, 1961:87 and in McDonald, 1938:141). Study clubs and learning to make handicrafts were activities that led to larger organizational work such as handicraft exhibitions and the establishment of Women's Guilds. The guilds were organized in connection with cooperative stores and aimed to spread cooperative education among the membership, thereby encouraging the women to become involved in community affairs. The "Guild Room" or "Community Living Room" within the cooperative store supplied a base for this work.

In addition, the majority of the writing and work of The Maritime Cooperator was undertaken by women. Indeed, one woman from that era said during an interview in the film "Moses Coady" (produced by the National Film Board, 1976) that Coady was "ahead of his time with respect to women's liberation" as he encouraged women to use their talents outside of the domestic situation. That they did so is evidenced by Roby Kidd's comments in the foreword to Laidlaw's (1961:12) book Campus and Community. There, Kidd suggested that Laidlaw's historical account of the Antigonish Movement contained a gap, namely that of the work of the women of Antigonish. Kidd speculated that the movement would not have flourished as it did without the work of women such as "Miss T. Sears, Mrs. K. Desjardins, Sister Marie Michael and a number of others." That story provides the subject for another study and, indeed, as Kidd has suggested, another book.

Evaluative and Analytical Perspectives

While much has been written about the Antigonish Movement, a common criticism levied at much of the writing, especially at the early accounts, is that it lacked a critical perspective (Kidd in Laidlaw, 1961:11). Many of the writers were those associated with the movement whose major aim appears to have been "to tell their story." Some journalists were prone to exaggerations and thus distorted the real situation (Laidlaw, 1961:92).

It must be acknowledged also that the processes of evaluating and analyzing can be problematic in themselves.

For instance, just as democracy cannot be measured only by how many people vote, the Antigonish Movement cannot be measured only by the number of cooperative enterprises established. If such measurement were used on its own, there would be the danger of such reductionism distorting and/or missing the essence of the movement.

Nevertheless, evaluative and analytical perspectives are still necessary. In this section, the evaluative and analytical comments which have been made by those writing about and studying the movement from various vantage points will be reviewed. These include: the impact of the movement upon the Maritimes, other parts of Canada and abroad; the success of the Antigonish Movement as a social movement; and critiques of the movement's "middle way."

The impact of the Antigonish Movement in eastern Nova Scotia has been acknowledged by all who have written about the movement, whether or not they agreed with its thrust. As has been outlined previously, the growth of the co-operative technique promoted by the movement was wide-spread, with producer and consumer cooperatives increasing in number. Mifflen (1974:23) suggests that by 1940 the co-operative way of life had been implemented by a great part of the population. Writing in 1938, McDonald (1938:108) also stated that considerable economic and social gains had been made, and that people had demonstrated that through their own collective efforts home-grown vegetables could be sold to advantage. In addition, McDonald (1938:33) noted that a trend exists for the cooperative movement to become established when countries are experiencing economically depressed conditions. Such conditions were not confined to eastern Nova Scotia but were universally experienced within the Maritimes. The impact of the Antigonish Movement then spread to other parts of the Maritimes as Extension Department staff were requested to visit and lecture in the other provinces.

In Prince Edward Island, Croteau worked in programs of adult education and in the development of cooperatives and credit unions. In New Brunswick, McEwen developed a cooperative wholesaling organization which evolved into the Maritime Cooperative Services (Lotz, 1975:112). Both men chronicled the stories of their work (see Croteau, 1951; McEwen, 1969).

Laidlaw (1961:94) traces the establishment of the Prince Rupert Fishermen's Credit Union in 1940 to the leadership provided by Extension staff during a course given for fishermen on the Pacific Coast. He suggests that this is only one example of the Antigonish Movement's influence in Canada and then proceeds to identify areas of its influence in the United States and Latin America. The international sphere of influence widened after the end of World War II when students from abroad came to Antigonish to learn about the movement. On their return home, some of these students served as educational advisors and spread the essence of the movement among their own people (Ibid.:96). In 1959, the year in which Coady died, the Coady International Institute was established with the purpose of training such students from developing countries. Although it is difficult to evaluate precisely the results of such efforts, it is widely recognized that the Antigonish Movement has had an impact internationally. In addition to training students, staff at Antigonish also acted as consultants to people setting up cooperatives in various parts of the world (Ibid.:93).

The Antigonish Movement has been analyzed from the perspective of being a social movement. As such, it is seen to have been characterized by intentional collective action which arose from a commitment to change and required some organization (Mifflen, 1974:56). Mifflen (1974:128) traces the progression of the Antigonish Movement through the stages of the steady state, the period of increased individual stress, the period of cultural distortion, the period of revitalization and the new steady state. MacInnes (1978) examines how the Antigonish Movement sacralized ["endowed with sacred significance, frequently through ritual" (Oxford Dictionary Supplement, 1982:1434)] the identity of people within eastern Nova Scotia. Within these and other accounts of the movement, comments are found which, when pieced together, provide a composite picture of the contributions and shortcomings of the Antigonish Movement.

The work of the Antigonish Movement resulted in some tangible benefits which revitalized in some measure the economic and social condition of the people of eastern Nova Scotia. Economic cooperation became a way of life for many. The creation of credit unions resulted in people being educated about credit and financial operations as well as being able to obtain credit without being exploited by "rapacious outsiders" (McDonald, 1938:74). That is not to say that the credit union movement was without its problems. On the contrary, problems with the operation of credit unions were not uncommon. These problems included inefficiency, mismanagement, dishonesty and an inability to confront the finance companies (Mifflen, 1974:122). Yet, the successes of the credit unions were that they developed among the population a new pattern of saving, they kept profits within the local area, and provided loans at interest rates much lower than those of the finance companies (Ibid.:123). Credit unions grew in number in eastern Nova Scotia and created bonds among the different groups within them, namely farmers, fishermen and industrial workers. The credit union movement then spread to the rest of Canada, thereby providing the greatest effect nationally of the Antigonish Movement (Laidlaw, 1961:84).

Similar problems and successes existed among the cooperative enterprises. The problems with some management inefficiencies did not preclude the development of notable cooperative successes such as in milk marketing (which in 1974 marketed all Nova Scotia's milk) and cooperative housing which by 1974 had provided 5,500 units of housing otherwise not available (Mifflen; and Roach in Mifflen, 1974:123). The United Maritime Fishermen and the Maritime Co-operative Services have continued to be successful and together with the credit unions have accounted for a substantial proportion of sales and assets (Lotz, 1975:114). The cooperative way of life was not, however, able to prevent the eventual decline of the small fishing villages as new technology led to processing being done in fewer ports (Ibid.:105). Nor were the consumer cooperative stores in general able to compete in the long term with private retail businesses, "especially the supermarkets" (Mifflen, 1974:124). Yet, for the people of eastern Nova Scotia in the 1930s, a measure of economic betterment was obtained.

Although pursuing economic improvement in the lives of eastern Nova Scotians was a primary aim of the movement, it was not the sole one. The other parts of the purpose included the improvement of the social, educational and religious condition of the people. That the principle that the "full and abundant life for everyone in the community" was not entirely met did not overshadow the improvements economically and otherwise (Ibid.).

Although difficult to measure, these gains included a heightened political consciousness of the members of the movement concerning the importance of the vote, the development of the movement as a strong lobby group, the control over a small number of social institutions such as cooperatives and hospitals, and the emergence of leaders who were trained within the movement but also contributed their efforts to other social causes such as the labour movement (Ibid.). That the program of adult education and cooperation enabled people to understand and transform their situations, thereby developing their self-help capacities and increasing their sense of self-worth and power, is a theme which also pervades much of the writing about the movement (Coady, 1939; Laidlaw, 1961; Baum, 1980; Lotz, 1977).

Another contribution of the movement, recognized by various writers, was that study clubs were effective as vehicles for people to examine their problems and discover solutions for action. Such a technique carried education to the people and established the university's responsibility to its community constituency (McDonald, 1938; Laidlaw, 1961; Lotz, 1977).

A number of writers suggest that the vitality of the movement ebbed after the 1930s (Mifflen, 1974; Lotz, 1977; MacInnes, 1978). Mifflen (1974:125) attributes this change to the natural life cycle of a social movement which, if successful, tends to move from an orientation of social reform to one of social service. Other events which are cited as contributing to this change are the advent of war which took away many of the movement's leaders (Lotz, 1977:111), decline and virtual extinction of the study clubs by the 1940s (this resulted from the transfer of the adult education work to the cooperative organizations, all of which had taken Coady's suggestion of allocating one per cent of gross sales for educational work), and the emergence of a managerial elite controlling the cooperatives (Mifflen, 1974:121-122). To Mifflen (1974:121), it was clear that, having attained some success in meeting economic goals (and with economic well-being improved because of wartime), those in the movement did not then emphasize meeting other "higher" needs.

While it is not within the scope of this study to review the work of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department from the 1940s to the present, it is necessary to state that a cursory examination reveals a wide variety of activities both of an educational and community development nature. Mifflen (1974:126-127) himself cites the successes of the Extension Department in influencing government policy, in consumer education and labour leader training, and in cooperative housing. It was his examination of the cooperative housing program which led him to the conclusion that within this program the Extension Department had moved away from its initial objectives of working with low-income groups to including those of the middle class, thus associating itself more with the status quo (Ibid.:191). This assertion cannot be generalized to other programs of the Extension Department without the study of each one.

When MacInnes (1978:iii) examined the Antigonish Movement (1928-1939) he concluded that it reflected "a tradition based on religious/ethnic cultural formation and the modern impetus of reform liberalism, scientific rationality and democratic participation" and sacralized a cooperative identity in eastern Nova Scotia. He traces how industrialization destroyed the identity of the "older order" and how the Antigonish Movement developed as a response to the conditions of the time. MacInnes (1978:425) acknowledges that this cooperative identity sacralized by the Antigonish Movement became a way of life even in the face of competing influences including "religion, ethnicity, radical labour, socialism, and free enterprize individualism." Although he uses the analytical perspective of identity formation to demonstrate that this did occur during the Antigonish Movement's first decade, he does not evaluate the relative merits of the sacralization by this particular social movement.

Other writers, however, who acknowledge the Antigonish

Movement as a social movement, have made evaluative comments regarding its position vis-a-vis capitalism and socialism. The movement was politically neutral in that it did not align itself with any particular party. Those, such as Coady, articulating the movement's basis for change suggested that cooperation would be a vehicle for social reconstruction but that cooperation should not be the only element in the economy. He advocated a mix of ownership: individual, cooperative, state and private-profit enterprise (Coady in Laidlaw, 1961:45).

Baum (1980:200) has attributed to the Antigonish Movement a certain radicalism. That the leaders were inspired by a vision of society that was different from the dominant view, was a fact that Baum considered to be beyond doubt. Although the programs of the movement attempted to reform the present order, they also introduced an alternative view of society, thereby transcending the present system. Baum (1980:201) even suggests that in some significant way the movement "undermined" that system, preparing people for a "more radical reconstruction of society."

Yet, Baum (1980:202) in his writings, including "Moses Coady: Critique of Capitalism" (1977), considers that the movement's social analysis, especially as articulated by Coady, emphasized too narrowly the exploitive merchant without considering the larger system of industrial and corporate commerce within which the merchant operated.

Lotz (1977:110), too, addresses this issue and identifies Croteau, who developed cooperatives on PEI, as noting that the local merchants too were forced to operate within economic systems which they could not control.

Even when Coady did consider the total picture, Baum seems puzzled by Coady's plan for the reconstruction. Specifically, Baum (1980) suggests that the refusal of the Antigonish Movement to support, even in principle, the emerging socialist party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), might have been a basic contradiction. This assessment was based upon Baum's (1980:202) belief that cooperative endeavours can thrive without compromising their principles only when the economic system is non-competitive and where production is "for use, not for profit." Baum's (1980:196) comments are given with the knowledge that the British cooperative movement also at first abided by the cooperative principle of political neutrality but later joined the labour party and thus British socialism.

Baum's (1980) study of the Antigonish Movement was part of a larger one which examined the relationship of Catholics to Canadian socialism and hence included study of the Catholic support for the CCF in Saskatchewan. Perhaps his analysis of the Western Canadian experience also contributed to his perspective of contradiction. Nevertheless, Baum's (1980:202) overall assessment of the

Antigonish Movement is that it was the "most original and the most daring response of Canadian Catholics to the social injustices during the Depression."

The Antigonish Movement has been critiqued from a Marxist perspective. As outlined previously, Sacouman (1976:123) suggests that the uneven success of the Antigonish Movement, as measured by the formation of co-operatives, was based upon the differing structural bases of capitalist underdevelopment within the agricultural, fisheries and industrial sectors. He also attributes the particular process of underdevelopment, which established the combination farmers-fishermen-proletarians (semi-petit bourgeois, semi-proletarians) as explaining structurally how the Antigonish Movement was able to develop as an across-class movement which was more successful than trade unionism/socialism in the 1930s. Sacouman (1976) also points out that the conditions of distress frequently identified as a precondition of the movement were also in existence during and after the movement had been formed. In the final analysis, he considers the Antigonish Movement to have failed in meeting its objectives.

In a similar vein, Webster (1975:101) critiques the Antigonish Movement, concluding that it failed and implicating the leadership cadre as the major cause. His conclusions were based upon interviews with citizens of Tignish, PEI (including cooperators) during a six-month period. Webster's major criticism of the cadre is that its members, in his opinion, lacked the analytical perspective to deal with the real needs and problems of the class of people which the cadre wished to assist.

The analysis which the leaders of the movement adopted allowed the coexistence of cooperativism and capitalism. Webster considers this to be in error, postulating that a battle of cooperativism against capitalism needs to be fought (Ibid.). The consequence of any co-existence of cooperativism and capitalism, he believes, is that of cooperativism operating in marginal areas of enterprise, thereby integrating workers into the capitalist system and stabilizing monopoly capitalism (Ibid.:99). This situation results in workers being manipulated rather than being liberated, Webster suggests.

These broad generalizations of Webster's may be challenged because of the extent of his research base; however, as noted by MacInnes (1978:428), Webster's view is recognized by contemporary graduate students in Atlantic Canada and is reflected in a particular master's thesis about the movement by Murphy (1975) entitled The Failure of the Antigonish Movement in Larry's River. Such students and writers share the opinion that the Antigonish Movement, which aimed to improve conditions for the people of eastern Nova Scotia, merely reformed the capitalist system there. The word "merely" is placed beside "reformed" to indicate that people sharing such an interpretation would advocate the restructuring of the capitalist system. To them, such reform is inadequate in dealing with the problems of the capitalist system.

Summary

The Antigonish Movement, which arose during harsh economic conditions in eastern Nova Scotia and in the context of particular social and religious influences, emphasized a "double-barrelled" program of adult education and economic cooperation. With an aim of improving the economic, social, educational, and religious condition of the people, the movement promoted a variety of programs and activities. The main educational methods were mass meetings, study groups and conferences.

The Extension Department had a small, paid staff and relied heavily upon the efforts of volunteers in the community. One result of these combined efforts was the development and growth of cooperatives (including credit unions) in both rural and industrial areas. Women's programs were developed and the majority of the work of _The Maritime Co-operator_ was undertaken by women.

Attempts have been made to analyze and evaluate the Antigonish Movement. Its impact upon life in eastern Nova Scotia has been recognized by all who have written about the movement. It has also had an international impact. As a social movement it is viewed as having gone through stages. The Antigonish Movement's vigor peaked prior to 1940. Both tangible benefits and problems existed among the cooperative enterprise. While the goals of attaining the full and abundant life for all were not realized, there were some improvements in people's lives, economically and otherwise. It also gave the people a particular cultural identity and way of life.

While the Antigonish Movement has been labelled a reform movement, there are some critics who argue that it did not go far enough in its reforms. Proponents of this position would advocate restructuring the economic system rather than reforming it.

CHAPTER 7

Coady's Ideas as Revealed in His Writings

Coady's writings were coded and analyzed according to the method described in Chapter 3. Themes, categories and properties were identified for each of the seven research questions. Summary charts of this analysis are found in Appendix C.

In this chapter, these themes, categories and properties of Coady's ideas are developed more fully than they are in the charts. Descriptions of these ideas are provided for each of the seven research questions. In Chapter 8, the patterns that emerged when linkages were traced among categories are described.

In the descriptions of the above-mentioned ideas and patterns, Coady's expressions and words are used as much as possible. In presenting this material, Coady's quotations are incorporated directly into the narrative. This way of presenting the data is one of a number of ways that Bogden and Biklen (1982:179) suggest for presenting qualitative data. Acknowledging that the descriptions presented in this chapter are virtually Coady's own words, quotation marks will be used only to designate phrases which Coady coined or used frequently or to identify expressions he used that might otherwise be thought of as colloquial. In keeping with Coady's language usage, "he" and "man" are used as generic terms when Coady's quotations are incorporated into the narrative.

Topic I: Meaning of Adult Education

Coady described the meaning of adult education in ways which reflected its role. When discussing an historical role he made reference to the role of the educational system in general; however, when addressing the role of adult education Coady outlined a normative role, specifying what adult education ought to be for people.

Historical Role of Education

From an historical perspective, Coady viewed education as an instrument which created classes in a supposedly classless society. Education was an exit through which the highly energetic and ambitious were able to escape to the most desirable jobs in the nation. Coady stated that the chief aim of education had been the attainment of good jobs and was thus measured in terms of economic return. He labelled this a materialistic concept of education.

This same education which provided an escape mechanism by which the lowly could rise from their class and join the elite also held consequences for those who did not escape. Education became the means by which enough members were picked to supply the people with an army of professional, business and service people. The implication of such a process was that once enough of these people were obtained, the job of education was completed. The remaining great "masses" or common people were thus left behind.

Coady did note a ray of hope in his contemporary situation. He assessed that some change was occurring because people were beginning to associate the so-called humble callings of the people with the idea of education. This he attributed to the necessity of scientific training in primary production and industrial development, thereby enhancing the dignity of this work. To this description Coady added his own assertion that education was not incompatible with any job and that he believed in the dignity of labour.

Normative Role of Adult Education

Demonstrations of such beliefs were provided by Coady's claims that adult education was an instrument to unlock life for all the people and to enable man to live fully. As such, adult education encouraged real thinking and creative thinking which he considered to be the meaning of education and of life itself.

Instrument to unlock life for all the people.

Coady believed that adult education was an instrument to unlock life for all the people. As has been described above, Coady's view of the educational system in general was that it neglected the masses of people, forcing them to "get along somehow." Coady identified ignorance, "like a dark cloud," as the cause of most evils, poverty and helplessness. Such ignorance, Coady asserted, was due to a lack of scientific thinking by which Coady meant the ability to "think straight." This concept will be discussed more fully when examining adult education as a process which encourages such thinking.

Coady claimed that the necessity for thinking and adult education was evident from the fact that people had lost many golden opportunities in the past. He quoted an old saying which declared that without vision the people perish. Coady maintained that there could be no vision without enlightenment and called upon adult educators to assist people to avert a recurrence of past tragedies. Enlightenment and education, the universal dissemination of ideas could unleash human energy for human progress. Such adult education was a prime necessity also because, as Coady stated, people were exposed to propaganda and pressure from interested groups.

Adult education, in Coady's view, was the mobilization of the spiritual and intellectual forces of the people for the purpose of attacking the problems confronting them. In this way, adult education could be an instrument which elevated man to his true dignity, gave him control over himself and over his environment. As a sacred agency, adult education was not to be perverted to maintaining a privileged _status quo_.

It was not only the masses, Coady believed, who lived in ignorance. Even among the ranks of those who were running the country Coady found an appalling ignorance. He concluded that surely there was a need for education "all along the line" and that the job of the schools and colleges was unfinished. If the lacunae in people's educational development were to be filled up, it would be done by adult education, if it were to be done at all. Yet Coady stressed that adult education was not essentially a corrector of the deficiencies in formal education. He maintained that adult education stood in its own right as a necessary phase of the educative process of the day. Proposing that education was coterminous with active life, Coady emphasized the necessity of continuous adult learning.

Encourages real thinking. As previously mentioned, Coady attributed much of the ignorance in society to a lack of scientific thinking. He asserted that the great secret of human progress had been scientific thinking; however, Coady acknowledged that some people did not like the term and then he clarified what he meant by it. The critics of the term scientific thinking, Coady stated, associated it with the physical sciences and thereby said it was too materialistic. Coady emphasized that he used the term scientific thinking in a wider sense to mean "straight thinking" in every field of human endeavour. He thus defended such use, claiming that "straight thinking" should be as applicable in considering cultural and spiritual matters as in the field of natural science. While Coady stated that most people believed that the principal result of education should be the ability to think, he warned that the age in which he lived made original thinking difficult. Thus, encouraging real thinking was for Coady the first task of the adult educator.

To do so Coady suggested that adult education should be indirect action in contrast to the direct action of lecturing or preaching. Such indirect action would include organizing the people for continuous learning wherein they could reduce a complex (and previously mystifying) subject to its simplest components, trace its origins and develop an understanding about it. Through adult education, people could not only appreciate their heritage but also engage in original and creative thinking on their own account. Thus Coady considered it to be the delicate job of adult education to mould people's minds and give the "right human stuff" out of which an enduringly great civilization could be built.

Enable man to live fully. Coady believed that adult education should enable man to live fully and described the full life as the gradual realization of human potentialities. To illustrate this in a more concrete way, he suggested that the human possibilities could be reduced to five categories, namely: physical, economic, institutional, cultural and spiritual. He claimed that no people nor any individual has ever realized to the fullest extent all latent powers. In fact, he believed that few could claim perfection in even one phase of their being. Yet, Coady advocated perfection in every phase, emphasizing that the whole man must be wholly balanced.

Adult education, Coady believed, could enlighten people, enabling them to obtain a vision of their possibilities. Then people could use their intellect to determine which things would be possible and which would not. People could then embrace opportunities and realize possibilities. The individual could dip into all the categories from physical to spiritual and develop the symmetry which Coady considered as characterizing the truly educated man.

Attaining such symmetry, Coady asserted, would depend upon an individual's native capacity and economic standing in society. Coady proposed that education would perform its true function when it enabled an individual to attain this end and ensured its permanency. Such a suggestion strikes a resonant chord with Coady's phrase that the "good and abundant life" should be given to all. Coady claimed that if at the material level all people could create new wealth and divide it so everyone could get his fair share, then people would be free to rise from the bread and butter level to more artistic ones.

In summary, Coady's ideas about the meaning of adult education were that adult education was an instrument to unlock life for all the people, that it encouraged real thinking and enabled men to live fully. This view of adult education was in direct contrast to his view of education which he characterized as having created classes in society and having ignored the great masses of people.

Topic II: View of Adults

When Coady wrote about adults, he dealt with their role, their general characteristics, and the common man.

Historical Role

Coady's writings which focused upon the role of adults revealed his concern about their present and future roles and about their historical role which he deemed had brought about the present situation. In most of Coady's writing about this historical role, he focused upon two groups of people. The one group, which consisted of the common man, he referred to as defaulters while the other group he labelled rugged individualists.

The masses, Coady believed, had historically contributed to their own situation of problems through their own default. He identified their great mistake as having failed to take steps towards changing society. If the masses had become in a sense slaves, it resulted from this mistake. He traced this loss of control to the failure of those in the past to claim their rights. They withdrew and left control to others. Coady did not consider the people innocent because he believed they could have prevented the situation. He also warned that if people did not take the means to advance themselves, they would slip surely backwards.

The rugged individualists, on the other hand, had robbed others of their individualism. Coady claimed that the old line profit business disinherited the great mass of people and made them envious by flaunting before the world the differences between rich and poor. For example, he described how the fishermen had lived in poverty, illiteracy and ill-health as sharecroppers of the sea under the dominating fish barons. He claimed that such conditions had dulled the intelligence of the poor people, weakened their wills and almost destroyed ambition in them. In addition, Coady identified how the vested interests tried to "keep the masses down" by scorning their attempts at regaining some control.

Present and Future Roles

Coady believed that the situation just described could be otherwise. To this end, he outlined a normative role for common citizens in a democracy and also made specific suggestions as to what the religiously-minded person ought to do.

He believed that it was the duty of the common citizen to exercise the freedoms that are the privilege of a democracy. Coady encouraged the citizens to study voluntarily and enlighten themselves so that they could create a new society.

To the religiously-minded man, Coady issued additional imperatives. The religiously-minded man would dare to change a system so hard, cruel and relentless that it sinned against nearly every ethical principle. This system to which Coady referred was capitalism. He maintained that it needed to relearn its forgotten slogan that "honesty is the best policy." Capitalism, Coady believed, also needed to relearn that the forgotten virtues of justice and charity are essential to social and economic welfare. The religious man, Coady suggested, would help reform capitalism until it relearned these truths from the good example of economic cooperation. The religious leader, Coady asserted, could not compromise on the economic question.

In addition to taking seriously their duty to their needy neighbours, Christian people were to be rooted in the proper humility with an unbiased mind. Such a tentative mind was for Coady the essence of a scientific method and he claimed that "Christ and Aristotle meet." In general terms, Coady foresaw the religiously-minded man using all the good things of God's creation to further the cause of humanity and to ensure the salvation of souls. Such a person would recognize and adopt what was fundamentally good, would be courageous, honest, faithful, charitable and speak the truth.

General Characteristics

When Coady wrote about adults' general characteristics his comments tended to be either descriptive or somewhat evaluative.

Descriptive. Coady viewed man as being both spiritual and material and unable to be divided and put into separate compartments. Coady did indicate the importance he placed upon the power of the mind with his assertion: "As men think, so will they act." He believed that people could hold only one set of ideas in their mind at a given time and stated that his belief was in accordance with the principles of elementary psychology.

Coady considered that although the physical environment affected man even in his moral life, he was built as a man principally by his contact with his social environment. Coady stated that man's behaviour in respect to his fellow human beings determined his spiritual character.

While Coady indicated that he considered man's character to be developed by wrestling with his environment and his moral fibre toughened by difficult tasks, he acknowledged that there were individual differences. Coady believed that vast numbers of men were not made for a highly-competitive society and could not survive in a society that believed in survival of the fittest only.

Adults, Coady maintained, would perish if they did not have a vision of how things could be in the future. While people could not be forced to accept responsibility, Coady believed that people were brimful of potential energy. To him, a "real person" was one who reacted enthusiastically to a brilliant idea.

Evaluative. When Coady made evaluative remarks about the general characteristics of adults, he tended to portray the characteristics as desirable or undesirable. In addition he articulated what he deemed ideal.

Of the desirable characteristics, Coady included an innate charity stating that man was born to love, not hate, and was desirous of fellowship. Again, Coady described people as being caught up in a vicious system and stated that nobody whose heart was in the right place was not moved by the lot and suffering of the common people. Coady affirmed that people have marvellous power to recuperate. He also described how he was impressed with the spirituality and ethereal nature of the abstract thoughts, artistic dreams and visions of which the human mind is capable.

Coady chronicled the many admirable qualities of people. Yet, he also outlined with equal clarity those aspects which he considered as undesirable and tended to refer to as problems. He viewed man as being prone to demand his "pound of flesh" and more. For man it was also difficult to conquer the irresistible urge to wealth and power. Yet, Coady asserted that man's greed was hardly more dangerous than his mental sloth. Accordingly, man tended to seek escape from an annoying situation, accept the easy way out and was slow to accept greater truths.

To Coady, the ideal characteristics were to be physically fit, mentally alert and morally right. He believed that the quality of human beings could be improved and that their mettle could be tempered.

Common Man

Many of Coady's comments about adults focused upon the masses or common people. He wrote about how he believed that the common man was capable, but held a distorted view. Coady also addressed the subject of the common man as a learner.

Capable. Coady believed that the common man was capable of greatness. He did not need to be remade but needed to be remotivated as he tended to underestimate his abilities. Thus, the common man was capable of being wholly balanced (physically, economically, institutionally, culturally and spiritually). He could be at once a worker, a student, a business man and an intelligent citizen. The common people would be able to find new ways to solve the problems confronting them and society.

Holds disorted view. Coady suggested that the common people held a distorted view of themselves, underestimating what they could do. It was the old mind-set that made them think this way, Coady believed, pointing out that the upper classes and the masses generally agreed upon a perspective which portrayed the latter as inferior, destined to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the former. The common man, for his part, seemed mystified by the areas such as business and considered them to be beyond his understanding, leaving control to others.

Coady asserted that the common people did not realize their democratic responsibilities and sins of omission and commission. He considered that a consequence of the people forming their conclusions from false premises was that they steered their life away from truth. Indeed, he suggested that in the absence of facts, the people acted upon "horse sense" (as they called it). Yet, Coady asserted that this distorted view could be corrected by straightening out people's thinking. He used the simile of having kinks ironed out of minds as a woman ironed wrinkles out of clothes. There could be no vision for the people without enlightenment, Coady believed, and to him the people's sense of being incapable showed the need for enlightenment.

As learner. Coady described the common man as learner in terms of his potential for learning, his motivation for learning and the process required for learning.

Coady viewed all people as potential students, stating that all had the potential for having attitudes and thinking changed for the better. He proposed that people had definite attitudes even if they had received limited education.

Regarding motivation for learning, Coady maintained that people's basic needs must be met as they learn best when their interests are keenest. Their needs determined their interests. Thus, people would be motivated by solving everyday pressing problems and not hypothetical ones. The urgency of the economic needs of the masses was rationale enough for Coady to suggest that the people be brought into the field of adult education by the economic route. This economic way, Coady proposed, would offer immediate concrete results that would provide a sense of accomplishment and economic reward for their study and thinking. Coady maintained that people then would have been motivated to the point of seeking new successes. As a result, people would later dip into other fields which would lead them to acquiring culture.

On the other hand, Coady claimed that if people were condemned to permanent economic poverty and social insecurity their yearnings would be stifled and life itself would be threatened. He suggested that motivation works best under dynamics that come from within and that enlightenment was needed to supply the dynamics. While people could not be forced to take on citizenship responsibilities he believed that people could be brought through education to a willing attitude.

Coady also outlined the process he believed was required to enable learning. He suggested that people be presented with a model or demonstration so that they could be shown what was possible, stating that what the other fellow has done has always supplied the greatest motivation for human progress. Coady stated that people learn first with the material and concrete things and then move to abstractions. He thus suggested that learning should progress accordingly providing immediate application and demonstration, building on people's interests and providing opportunities for accomplishment.

Coady viewed the provision of stimulation as essential to the common man who might otherwise become vulnerable (fat, lazy, stupid) and the victim of quacks. The study group, Coady believed, could help to produce discontent within the people about their situation and remotivate people to new thought patterns. By having good food and health, ideas, scientific ideas, economic and social techniques Coady believed that people could become transformed to efficient, "live-wire" citizens.

With respect to the best organizational form for learning, Coady considered people as social beings who found their best expression in a group. He believed that a person could learn individually but considered the group to be better because discussion would reinforce an individual's learning and provide new ideas from the stimulus of discussion. Coady advocated the positive organization of people for the acquisition of knowledge, claiming that they would have a better chance to succeed when organized than if they were just left to float. He specifically recommended the organization of people for social and economic activities as a means whereby they would receive a challenge, a sense of togetherness and a place where group learning would occur naturally. In a similar way Coady viewed cooperatives as providing a continuous school for adults as they could learn through meetings and other regular activities.

In summary, Coady viewed adults as having a role as active citizens, a role which could help to change the effects of the roles held in the past. He described adults in a manner which acknowledged both their desirable and less desirable qualities. Particular emphasis was placed upon the common man's capabilities as a citizen and learner.

Topic III: Relationship Among Adults

Coady outlined what he believed to have been the historical relationships among adults as well as the present one. He described the relationships among adults in group action generally and also specifically within the program of the Antigonish Movement. Coady also addressed the general role of adult educators and outlined what he considered to be the ideal relationship of adults to adults.

Historically

Coady portrayed the pioneers as having been blind to the significance of the economic system that was growing up while they were creating the wealth and leaving its manipulation to others. Business, in Coady's view, had been operating as a unilateral contract in which the people had relinquished their consumer rights, leaving control to others. This led to the entrenchment of individual enterprise which took on the sacredness of tradition. Accordingly, businessmen liked to think of themselves as sole masters in their house of business. While the members of the enterprising crowd surrounding the common man were providing services for him and taking their own price, the masses were so busy with mere existence that they did not have a vision of a better world they could build for themselves.

Present

Coady described the poor as being discouraged, frustrated, hopeless and overawed by the power of the corporations. This was their state of being at the time when Coady began his work in the Antigonish Movement.

Group Action

Coady claimed that group action was the great change wave breaking over society, noting that in business, vocational and social fields there had been recognition of the need to organize to attack problems. He emphasized that united action was a necessary means for the masses to deal with the problem of getting control of the economic processes of society. Indeed, he forecast that the lone person would be fighting a hopeless battle if this technique were not used, for the individual coal miner or farmer or fisherman was nothing in comparison to the great, organized economic world he had to face. Coady cited as examples of such group action the labor unions and various forms of cooperative production and marketing.

Coady believed that an evolution was occurring which began with individualism and led to some forms of collectivism. Group action, he asserted, was more difficult than the individualistic action and should be the characteristic of a grown-up race. His idea was that the trend was from the easy to the difficult, from the imperfect to the perfect and that the only constant thing in the world was change. He thus concluded that group action was inevitable and that the wise businessman would accept it. Such acceptance was not the norm at that time as group action was perceived as a shameful invasion or supposed injury when the common people tried to reassert control. Nevertheless, Coady reported that the success of group action, such as a cooperative's financial success, aroused the whole community.

The Antigonish Movement

Group action was seen in the activities of the Antigonish Movement. Coady outlined the roles and relationships among three groups in particular: the Extension workers, the community leaders and the learners.

Role of Extension workers. The Extension workers' role was to mobilize the people of the community for action. The major techniques by which they attempted to meet this goal were the mass meeting and the study club. The mass meeting, as Coady described it, was intended to break people's existing mind-sets and prepare people for the action of rebuilding themselves and society. He declared that many old prejudices had to be overcome and that closed minds had to be reopened to truth. Coady portrayed the mass meeting as a kind of intellectual bombing operation, using intellectual dynamite to shatter the old mind-sets that had become as rigid as cement and incrusted with tradition. He considered it of the utmost importance to shock people out of their complacency so that they could begin an honest search for truth. Blasting minds into real thinking, Coady believed, also involved engendering an attitude of scientific humility and bringing people to a state of neutral, the starting point for motion in the right direction.

Breaking down such mind-sets involved setting forth the value of education and the possibility for people to know and do more things than they had previously considered. Coady considered it important that people not be dismayed by the realization of what they had not done but rather be infused with ambition to delve into the great unknown that was waiting to be explored. The Extension workers were to create a set of conditions that would produce the spark to set off people themselves in great work, including that for economic and social improvement.

Coady considered the breaking down of mind-sets as the first step in engaging people in a program of action. The next step was to rebuild and to encourage by indicating the way they must subsequently follow. Speaking figuratively, Coady suggested that the mass meeting should first erase all prejuidices and false thought patterns from the screen of the mind and flash thereon the first pictures that would set people thinking correctly and efficiently about the possibilities of human life. Specifically, people would be presented with stories about other cooperators, for example, of the economic achievements of the Scandinavian and British cooperators. Coady acknowledged that the experiences of people in distant countries could sound like a fairy tale and not provide potent motivation for some people. He stressed the good fortune and importance of having contemporary examples of the work of Nova Scotian cooperators. Coady hoped that such examples would motivate people to search for other sources of information.

In presenting problems to be solved, Coady emphasized that people were not given only sweeping abstract statements. He assessed that statements such as fighting economic battles and establishing the good society were too inclusive to mean anything definite to many people. Believing that every large and general problem was a combination of small and particular ones to be solved one by one, he suggested that instead of stating the ultimate objective as the thing to be done, the smaller intermediary tasks should be presented.

Although Coady viewed the mass meeting as the place where ideas were sown, it was the study club that he considered to be the main educational lever. The Extension workers encouraged the people to form study clubs (subsequent to a mass meeting) so that the ideas presented at the mass meeting could be followed up. Coady suggested that the people should begin by studying the history, aims and technique of the whole cooperative movement. After having examined the blueprint of cooperative programs and specific economic ventures people could then, Coady speculated, work out a program for their own communities. The process that became the accepted mode within the Antigonish Movement was that of study followed by cooperative formation. He referred to this process as one of action and reaction whereby study led to cooperative formation and then to further education. The success of the study club was due to the local leader, often a clergyman or teacher, who worked voluntarily to organize it. Coady referred to this as self-help education.

Role of community leaders. The community leaders assisted the Extension workers before a mass meeting was held by accomplishing the preliminary work within the community to ensure a large attendance at the meeting. These leaders aroused interest by contacting key community men who could reach a large number of people. In a more general sense, Coady viewed these leaders as having sensed a previously unexpressed desire for social reform and accordingly directed the energies of people into definite channels and projects. Some community leaders provided leadership to the study groups. In such ways these leaders could fulfil the need which Coady identified for them to crystallize the thinking of the masses, formulate plans and initiate action.

Role of learners. Coady stated that the Antigonish

Movement was founded on the idea that the learner was most important in the educative process. Coady viewed lecturing as the easy, lazy way to teach and in contrast advocated a process wherein the learner participated and was encouraged to come along under his own power. This required, according to Coady, the willingness of the more intelligent members of the group to place their abilities at the disposal of the slower members.

In regard to who should be involved as learners, Coady emphasized that both men and women need to be involved in programs about reconstructing society. While Coady recounted how the Antigonish Movement historically began its work with men (with some women attending the men's study clubs) he also outlined how women were encouraged and gave his opinion about the importance of their role as learners. Women's programs were set up within the Antigonish Movement so that the women would become involved. Coady claimed that the majority of women thought study was for men only and that accordingly crafts were used as a way of inducing women to study. Coady's vision was that all people would be learners in the program, emphasizing that women had to be interested in all that men were interested in and a great deal more. He warned that the movement's workers couldn't be expected to be enthusiastic about reconstructing society on a philosophy of sewing and cooking and art.

Coady suggested, as a general guideline, that learners must parallel their learning with action. In more specific terms, he stated his conviction that this action component was best found in the social and economic field.

Role of Adult Educator (General Principles)

Coady outlined a number of ideas which addressed, in general terms, the role of the adult educator. The adult educator should, Coady asserted, create a set of conditions to produce the spark that would set off people themselves in great work. They would thus express themselves and create a society wherein they could be free. A program which would help create such conditions ought to be a "double-barrelled" one in which spiritual and mental enlightenment would be accompanied by group action.

Guidelines for working with the learners were also articulated. The adult educators were to take people where they found them and build them up. This entailed, for example, dealing directly with people's illiteracy by making them literate. Coady suggested that adult educators must understand man's nature and act accordingly by addressing his realism first and then leading him towards idealism. In a similar vein, Coady advised the adult educator to teach in specifics, beginning with the concrete and moving to the abstract. The credit union, Coady suggested, could lay the groundwork for the appreciation of

Shakespeare.

Coady proposed that educational leaders, as well as social and political leaders, must have a social philosophy, a blueprint that everyone could understand and apply. Thus, adult educators should enable people to obtain a vision of possibilities for themselves, thereby releasing their energy. Coady further suggested that the adult educator should help people change from low gear to high gear.

Should adult educators wish to qualify for leadership of the masses then such educators must, Coady asserted, break any alliance with the "vested interests" when they conflict with the welfare of the people. Coady saw it as the duty of the adult educator to point out the right relations of man to man in society. If the adult educator would refuse to criticize conditions, then that educator would invite suspicion.

Coady proposed that adult educators should focus upon regenerating the masses rather than renovating and converting those who ran society in the past. Consistent with this general principle, Coady specified that adult educators should develop leaders that emerged from the people, basing his suggestion upon the belief that leaders could not be superimposed upon the people.

Ideal Relationship Among Adults

Coady desired that "right reason" would be both the norm for carrying out activity in society and the basis of unity among people. In contrast to the bigotry that Coady saw existing in his time, he appealed for charity and justice to prevail. He also envisioned a free society, one in which the masses could rise to the level to operate the economic and political machinery. The people would be able to see and do the things that needed to be done rather than always relying upon experts. At a more specific level, Coady advocated that the adult education movement should become widespread nationally with people choosing their own groups and resources for study, creating an interdependence between the people and the university. Coady also promoted the relationship of economic cooperation as a philosophy and way of life that had great cultural significance and offered the democratic way.

In summary, Coady commented upon the relationships among adults both historically and during his contemporary time. A major concern of his was that adults should work together in group action. He described how group action was being attempted by the Antigonish Movement and outlined specifically the role of the Extension workers, the community leaders and the learners. Coady also discussed the role of the adult educator and what he viewed to be the ideal relationship among adults.

Topic IV: Relationship of Adults to Society

Within this area Coady's writings addressed the historical relationship of adults to society, the normative relationship of adults to society and the relationship of adults to present and ideal societies.

Historical Relationship

Coady believed that the loss of dignity of ordinary man's function in society resulted from "over-service." Whereas the common man initially met his own needs, within time an enterprising crowd supplied him with services to the point of "over-service." Indeed, Coady described such entrepreneurs as having hands eager to do service and to take from the common man their own price. He chronicled the list of services, stating that there was someone to help the common man to be born, to clothe and feed him, take care of his money, provide his recreation, look after his health, help him to die and bury him. Such over-service resulted in poverty of thought and inspiration of the common man as he became a passive object of production and service. This led to the common man losing control of his economic destiny and also of his dignity. Failure to claim control of his consumer business, Coady claimed, allowed an error to creep into the foundation of our economic structure.

Since the time when the pioneers witnessed the opening of the first store, Coady claimed that the common man had become circumscribed in his activities and permitted only to do the menial "under-dog" tasks of the economic process. Coady compared the common man to a lamb that long ago would have been slain. That the lamb/common man was not slain was, Coady suggested, because the hunt for the golden fleece was so pleasurable and profitable to those who controlled the processes of society. Thus Coady declared, that each time the common man was shorn, a short "closed season" was declared to permit him to grow another fleece.

Coady made the observation that historically nations have "flourished and then died," citing such examples as the Greek and Roman nations. He suggested that a possible cause of such decline was the "skimming process" of the educational system whereby bright children were channelled into higher education and choice vocations. Consequently, the majority was neglected and destined to remain in the tradition of the common man. Even when bright children arose from the masses the dignity of the common man was not enhanced. These children often turned against their own class, although Coady did note some exceptions among clergy and teachers who returned to work with their own people and class.

Normative Relationship: Change Society

Imperative. The normative relationship that Coady proposed was that adults should change society. He saw the basic problem of the world to be the creation and distribution of wealth and considered it imperative that changing society should be the task and responsibility of the ordinary adult. If the masses had become slaves, Coady asserted that it was because they had not tried to change society. They had neither taken the steps nor expended the effort that he believed necessary to change society. He reminded people that change would not occur by passive acceptance of the situation and asking God for miracles. Indeed, Coady wrote that a real civilization could never be built if the people were servile enough to pay homage (economic, social and political) to the well-off and privileged vested interests.

Means. Coady also outlined the means by which society ought to be changed. His comments dealt with the program that should be implemented towards the goal of changing society, the principles for guiding action and the underlying philosophy.

The description Coady often gave to the program for social reform was a "double-barrelled" program of adult education and cooperation (economic group action). He viewed it as a positive democratic program which offered people concrete benefits in contrast to a program which was founded on a negative orientation. An example of the latter was seen by Coady as one which merely rallied against the evils of communism. A positive program, he believed, would be adequate to meet the challenges of revolutionary socialism and would include a liberal education to prepare people for economic, social and cultural development. Coady referred to program components under the labels "antibiotics for poverty," "formula" and "blueprint for progress." The antibiotics for poverty, misery and unprogressiveness were the obtaining by the masses of ideas, enlightenment, scientific knowledge and knowledge of social techniques so that they could make this knowledge work in their lives. The formula for the good society of the future was deemed by Coady to be the manipulation of common-place things, the repatterning of the forces that determine the life of man on this earth--food, shelter, clothing, physical and economic security and freedom for the human spirit.

In a similar manner, Coady outlined a blueprint for progress for social architecture. The first phase was that the people have the proper orientation, the right attitude towards progress and its possibilities for them and that they believe in their own capabilities and sense of mission. Such an orientation would force them to the necessity of a plan to carry out their dreams. Secondly, the blueprint must have a physical and economic basis because people need health, economic development and security so all can be given a chance for the "good and abundant life." Coady explained that economic cooperation would be necessary for developing the great masses of the people because cooperation was an economic system that would enable the people, while carrying on everday activities, to invade the field of business and get the fair share of wealth they helped to create. In this way, the masses of the people could participate in the economic processes. Thirdly, the people must be mobilized for continuous adult learning according to the best and most scientific techniques (e.g. discussion circle). The last phase of this social blueprint was appreciation and creative thinking. By this Coady meant that after the previous three stages were operating in people's lives, then would come what he called the finest flower of education, namely appreciation of the cultural heritage of the human race and creative thinking by the people on their own account. This Coady considered to be the meaning of education and of life.

Among the principles that emerged for changing society was the vitalizing principle which Coady described as a sense of mission or a consciousness of high destiny. He noted the instances in which human energy had been released in a marvellous way resulting in art, science, literature--civilization. Coady speculated that what triggered this great activity was the existence in the people's minds of an integrated philosophy of life, a set of attitudes, a way of looking at things. He was also mindful of the way in which this had been prostituted and degraded, citing the super-race idea of the Nazis among the examples.

Coady suggested that the formula by which the good society of the future could be built would be found when people discovered how to release the forces that lie hidden in the relationships of man to man. Coady stated that the democratic peoples of the world should have a clear-cut master plan for solving their problems, commenting that the great strength of the communists was that they had a concrete, all-embracing plan. The formula Coady was suggesting, however, had to be democratic wherein people everywhere by and of themselves could begin to put it into motion and deal with their urban and rural concerns. He advised that it was reasonable to suggest that the cure for our sick world must come from the people themselves.

Coady underscored this principle when he warned against the inadequacy of preaching justice and charity, of trying to reform exploiters and dictators. Even the charity of the helping hand was insufficient in his view because what people really needed was to move under their own power in group action, working overtime without pay to voice their own cause. Coady saw the advantage of having strength in numbers in group action and accordingly advocated methods for mobilizing large numbers of people. He believed that people had to be positively and purposefully organized and supplied with the necessary material from which they could extract the ideas for their solutions.

Specifically, he advocated restoring ownership to the people, giving them economic democracy and putting them on the road to self-government.

While Coady desired such economic democracy for the common people, he did not view it to be the ultimate end. A principle for which he argued was a reorienting of values such that human values would be put back into their proper place and not make the attainment of wealth the whole objective. Rather, Coady explained, wealth should be developed so that it would create an environment in which all the people would have an opportunity to expand and perfect their physical, intellectual and spiritual powers.

Achieving the kind of progress which Coady advocated necessitated that people did the right things rather than confining themselves to the activities of society as it was then constituted. For those who wished to educate for reform, Coady issued the demand that they must be committed to doing difficult things rather than carrying on the traditional form of education. To Coady, it was not good enough to be on the side of something only if it did not cost the reformers any sacrifice. Coady stated that education for reform and restoration of all things "in Christ" would be done with great difficulty because it would require a new kind of bravery to point the accusing finger at the wrongdoers in our economic and political system. He issued as a challenge for rising leaders that they should put aside self-interest in their generation and live for a better world.

Lastly, Coady identified the principle for establishing the kind of democracy he espoused. He suggested that programs for reform should work from the fringes in, specifically meaning that such programs should work with the vocational groups with the greatest hope for results. Coady seemed to have no illusions about the difficulty of achieving human progress. He stated that progress would never be achieved by the evasion of a problem. Rather, progress called for a constant struggle with adversity and involved all the people of a nation. This struggle did not involve force of a physical nature but rather the force of ideas.

Regarding the philosophy that was needed for such reform initiatives, Coady warned that an integrated philosophy that would "save us from ourselves" was imperative. That philosophy was to be founded on the ethics of the "Sermon on the Mount."[1] Coady specifically identified that a social philosophy to release and direct the energy of the people should give the people a sense of togetherness, be definite and concrete and foster mutual helpfulness and brotherhood. He likened this philosophy to a bridge with four piers. He forecast that the Canadian people would have to cross over an historic bridge that would lead them from where they were to where they hoped to be (a new high plane of an enduring greatness). Such a symbolic bridge had to be built on solid foundations to withstand the stresses and strains of the future. The foundational four piers were humility, physical fitness, scientific knowledge and self-discipline.

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[1] Baum (1985) suggests that Coady's interpretation of this Biblical text would have been a "low church reading of the New Testament." Accordingly, the principles included "loving and helping one another, leading a simple life and working with ordinary people." (Ibid.)

This humility of which Coady wrote was a virtue which he considered to be the best characteristic of man. Coady identified this humility as being at the same time both Christian and scientific. His explanation for this idea was that in both fields a person felt his way into the great unknown, solicitous about one thing -- truth. People having this type of attitude, Coady maintained, would believe in the possibilities of the unknown and not be complacent and dedicated to the status quo. What was needed, in Coady's view, was to generate in all people the "possibility-hunting" type of mind. He believed that if people had this mental curiosity and divine discontent then they would be on the road to greatness.

The second pier, that of physical fitness, was necessary in Coady's opinion so that people would be healthy and energetic enough to undertake noble activities. Thus, Coady advocated improving the physical well-being of people and also ensuring that their physical and artistic environments were what they ought to be.

The third pier was that of knowledge, of scientific knowledge in particular. Coady's choice of this foundational basis stemmed from his belief that if people were to achieve their destiny, they could not be sloppy in their ways of thinking and acting. This scientific mode, Coady suggested, was not to be applied to only the material phase of life but also to the economic and social fields so that all people could enjoy the good things of life. Coady stated that it was sickening and saddening to think that such development was prevented by an unwillingness based upon love for the status quo and privilege of an entrenched minority.

The last pier, that of self-discipline, was necessary in Coady's view to accomplish dreams. Without self-control dreams would fade into thin air. Thus, Coady advocated physical, moral and mental discipline and forecast that they would become pleasurable activities because they would lead to a great and lasting good end.

End. Coady forecast that the means as described above would lead to a changed society in which the common people would create their own institutions and agencies of service. In addition, the people would also have obtained control of the instruments of production and thereby also of the economic processes of society. In contrast to a previous monopoly of big people and big businesses, Coady envisioned a federation of little people and little businesses. Coady believed that the program, principles and philosophy previously outlined would enable a new democratic society where all people would be free. Social justice would be obtained wherein the fundamental right of people to enjoy a decent standard of living would be met. Economic freedoms could lead to other freedoms. Coady asserted that the common man would be able to save his dignity in society, something which Coady considered to be everything.

Reformers/Reformed. Coady demanded that both the reformers and the reformed should become intolerant of bad conditions. He considered it imperative that reformers change the environment rather than merely cure people of moral ills and send them back to an unhealthy environment for further reinfection. Coady accordingly suggested that reformers were obligated to set an example of reasserting their right to own the country's resources and exploit them for the good of all. Regarding the potential of having the common people solve their own problems, Coady asserted that that would be possible only if they retained leaders among themselves. He also identified some prerequisites for change in the people themselves, specifically concerning their attitudes about life in eastern Nova Scotia. Coady suggested that people must believe that there is a connection between education and progress, that there is a correlation between knowledge of all kinds and the good life. He deemed it necessary for the people to acquire a spirit of self-criticism and to get accustomed to thinking scientifically. Coady believed that they needed scientific knowledge and the techniques of social and economic organization if they were to succeed. Lastly, Coady suggested that the people needed a new patriotism in which they would take a long-distance view and see possibilities in the Maritimes.

Relationship in Present Democratic Society

Coady's comments regarding the relationship of adults to his present society addressed relationships in a democratic society as it would be in its ideal state and also as Coady viewed it in its actual state during his lifetime. Coady also outlined what he considered to be the forces that caused the resistance to changing society from what it was to what he thought it ought to be.

Ideal. To Coady, democracy in its normative sense is the rule of the people not the rule of one man, clique or particular class. Because democracy was built upon the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, Coady asserted that it was not sufficient that this participation be partial or more or less tolerated. Democracy was to be participation by the people in all the vital and important social processes -- economic, political and cultural. Coady cited the minimum essentials as freedom of speech, of assembly, of conscience and freedom to join mutual self-help associations. Coady suggested that even if people were oppressed economically or politically, if they had these freedoms they would have the instruments to free themselves.

In a true democracy, Coady stated, the people are entitled to criticize everything in their society including their leaders and their institutions and in so doing, criticize themselves. The democratic way, Coady claimed, was to give the people a chance to get the new order for themselves, to have equality of opportunity. Coady envisioned a democratic society in which all could have a fair share of the national income by the proper development of natural resources.

Present. Coady did not consider the democratic society of his day to be ideal because the people did not rule in a full and complete manner. Coady believed that this failure was rooted in not having a measure of economic democracy that was essential to political democracy. The history of democracy, Coady stated, has shown that those in the higher economic brackets do most of the ruling. In addition, he claimed that attempts at economic democracy were regarded as promoting class warfare. Coady assessed the situation as one in which people had little liberty left under the dictatorship of big business and finance. He believed that society was travelling fast towards complete monopolism, and that democracy had declined because the masses in both the urban and rural areas had become proletarianized.

Coady suggested that what had come to be regarded as synonymous with democracy was the opportunity for the poor boy to rise to the level of a multimillionaire. To Coady, that situation was not democracy at all but rather economic dictatorship which was the death knell of democracy. He emphasized that people never built democracy by walking over the dead bodies of their fellows.

In contrast to a true democracy in which all people play the game, the Canadian democracy was, in Coady's eyes, one in which people sat in the economic bleachers while being entertained by the big business show. To extend this idea, Coady painted a scenario in which primary producers and workers would no longer have the ambition to manipulate the forces that condition their lives. Indeed, he described even the social activities of a majority of people as having become so circumscribed and mechanical that people don't think for themselves (called them "modern mummies") and their individualism is being destroyed. Commenting upon the increasing role of technology, Coady claimed that technology was canning everything and in that "canned and mechanical stuff" was a subtle and powerful propaganda for the privileged status quo.

In spite of all of this, Coady believed that people still had enough liberty left to break through to freedom. Democracy could survive, he claimed, if human assets were organized to work for it. If democracy were to endure and grow, Coady maintained that people must improve their economic prestige through cooperation. He believed that economic group action was implicit in the very idea of democracy.

Resistance to change. What then were the forces that posed resistance to the change from the democratic society as it was to a more ideal democracy? Coady identified a number of such hindrances. One major group who was opposed to change was the "vested interests." Coady described them as having been given power by society and in turn controlling the agencies which determined the kind of society in which people lived. Coady characterized society's leaders, who were a select group of educated people, as subservient to the vested interests and the privileged status quo. In addition, Coady claimed that there were leaders of society who straddled the fence by responding to merchants and dealers. Another obstacle to change was the alliance between the churchmen and the vested interests.

In more general terms, Coady identified the jungle ethics of society as impeding change and also as destroying people in a merciless system. During the migration of people from the rural to urban areas, Coady identified a spirit of indifference of neighbour towards neighbour which he believed hampered the development of the human personality.

Relationship in Ideal Society

Coady described what he wished to be the relationship of adults to society. He outlined the characteristics of the relationship in an ideal society and elaborated upon the relationship found in cooperation.

Characteristics.

Coady envisioned an organic society in which people were interdependent rather than a society composed of an aggregation of fighting individualists. In such an organic society Coady believed that the innate charity of man would find its outlet and that a fellowship of peace would prevail. This type of society would allow all people to be free and give the good and abundant life to all. People would participate in the economic processes and share responsibility for the creation and distribution of wealth. Thus, each individual would be able to carry his own load and perform intelligently the duties of citizenship.

This organic society would have a new philosophy of production for use to replace production for profit and power. The new democratic society which Coady described reflected four types of ownership. First, there was individual ownership such as the ownership of a house and/or property. Secondly, there was cooperation. Thirdly, there was socialization which Coady recommended for items such as public utilities which he deemed to be too important to the public to be left to private enterprise. Lastly, there was ownership of the private business.

Cooperation. Coady credited cooperation as being the first step in bringing about a social rebirth in the world. Cooperation, he believed, could make democracy work. Not only did Coady view cooperation as giving a measure of economic independence to people, but he also maintained that it provided opportunities for the development of character and conditioned people to manipulate forces in society. Cooperation, Coady believed, allowed everyone to be a useful member of society.

In summary, Coady described what he believed to have been the historical relationship of adults to society but also proposed that adults accordingly should change society. The details of why, how and to what end were outlined. In addition, Coady discussed the relationship of people to the present democratic society and to the ideal one he envisioned.

Topic V: Meaning of Liberation

> The people would soon see that such a program would finally liberate them, and they would bend every effort to supply the means necessary to keep it going. (Coady, 1940:21)

Coady wrote these words in the booklet Mobilizing for Enlightenment. In the paragraph preceding these words, Coady had described the obstacles that had to be overcome in providing the amenities of life for all. Among these problems to be overcome were the inertia and defeatism he considered characteristic of the people. Thus, he wrote that the task for the leaders of the Antigonish Movement was to arouse the people to action. In spite of the limited money St. Francis Xavier University had for such a program, Coady reported that optimism in the leaders ran so high that they believed the money would come if the work were started. It was in this context that he wrote the words quoted above.

What then was the meaning of liberation in Coady's view? Coady believed that the Antigonish Movement's program would liberate people from the decline in the scale of living that they had been experiencing for decades. In his writings, Coady also stated what he believed people should be liberated towards. He included within this vision the process of changing society so all could be free, the nature of freedom and the challenge of the self-change involved.

Change Society So All Are Free

Coady emphasized the need for the people to change society so that all would be free. He implored people to proceed as logically and zealously for the tasks of peace as they did for war. In more specific terms, he outlined how people could find such liberation through obtaining control, participating in the creation of various social forms and through group action.

Obtain control. When Coady was requesting that people use their best efforts for the tasks of peace, he applied the analogy of wartime activities to those which he envisioned during peaceful times. Specifically, he suggested that conscription would be for study groups and that the final positions of the soldiers would be at the controls of their own economic institutions. The Antigonish Movement was, in Coady's view, mobilizing the people of eastern Canada to fight their economic battles and recruiting intelligence for the positive tasks of building up an economic stronghold sufficient to withstand the attacks of the enemy.

Coady believed that it was naive for people to think that they could get their share of the good and abundant life and disregard the means by which others hold power. He desired that people move forward under their own power and shape their own destiny. To do so, Coady asserted that they would need to create institutions that would enable them to obtain control of the instruments of production. Such institutions included stores, credit unions and processing plants. These cooperative enterprises and cooperativism in general were, Coady believed, powerful instruments for the people to get a hand on the throttle of their own destiny. Coady forecast that through cooperatives the people would be able to invade the fields of business that their forefathers had relinquished and regain the control that the industrial revolution had taken away. Indeed, Coady speculated that the financial control that people would gain through cooperatives would supply the "great pincer movement" which the people could use to keep the world right. Freedom, he believed, could not endure without it.

Creation. If the people were to change society, Coady believed that they would have to be involved in the creation of new opportunities for themselves. Not only would they need to create institutions to enable them to obtain control of the instruments of production but they would also need to create their own agencies of service. The people must build the new society, Coady claimed, explaining that it was as much their job to do so as it was digging coal, catching fish or planting seed. He forecast that should they not attempt to bring about such change, no one else would do so.

Coady forecast that people could avoid being placed in a position of being like slaves. By taking the necessary steps and by expending the effort, the people could change society. He claimed that people who have been devoted to the intangibles were capable of building a new community and a new world.

The Antigonish Movement had shown Coady that working towards such change was a difficult undertaking. He cited how triumphs and failures had characterized the early days of that particular adult education experiment. Although there had been difficulties and some of the most hopeful projects had proved disappointing, Coady reported that there had been enough successes to prove what could be done if the available forces were released. Coady concluded that it was better to have action with some failures than no action for social improvement.

Group Action. Coady believed that group action was the legitimate and effective technique for people to tackle the problem of gaining control by manipulating forces. He suggested that different groups such as farmers and city workers should be brought together to develop fellowship and recognize the interconnectedness of their problems. Because Coady believed that society's "so-called democracy" could not be reformed by mere persuasion he advocated the addition of force, a gentle but all-powerful force of economic, social and political action sponsored by the masses. The role of educators and leaders was accordingly to organize the masses for economic and social group action to cause society to evolve in their favour.

It was group action in the economic field, or cooperation as Coady referred to it, that he advocated for bringing about a proper evolution of social and political society. He considered cooperation to be the secret of change in the modern world and suggested that this program should embrace all fields of economic activity open to the people so that they could gain power and control in society.

Cooperatives, in Coady's opinion, allowed all people to make contributions towards reconstruction. Each person, as Coady stated, could "hit his blow." Coady pointed out that despite resistance the cooperative movement had become a national movement. Such resistance was attributed by Coady to the economic overlords and the individualistic system of society. In his writings he warned those who would hinder the process of group action that such resistance was a dangerous course. Blocking natural trends or preventing the exercising of rights, Coady claimed, would beget revolution and he cited previous revolutions in history as confirming evidence.

Freedom

Coady frequently used the word freedom or free when describing what people could experience. In addition to outlining the characteristics of this freedom, he also discussed how a person's rights and the democratic society were part of freedom.

Characteristics. To Coady, freedom in society required that all were free and that the greatest good was distributed to the greatest number. He envisioned the obtaining of social justice and the elimination of injustice and unfair exploitation. At the economic level, Coady believed that people should be free to go into any legitimate business they chose. He stated that people could play their part in freeing themselves from the slavery that had so long held them. Specifically, he suggested that co-operative ventures and the potential wealth in the sea, land and forest would play a part in this process. Coady went on to explain that the people, with the economic question partly solved, would be at liberty to devote time and energy to more enjoyable cultural and spiritual pursuits.

Rights. Freedom, to Coady, entailed the people reclaiming rights that their forefathers had relinquished. In this way, they could enter their field of choice and take their place at the economic controls. More importantly, in Coady's opinion, a man would thereby save himself and his right to be called a man. Coady considered this right to be everything. He claimed that no one could justly prevent the people from reclaiming these rights. Indeed, he asserted that their freedom as free citizens would be a hollow one should they be impeded from pursuing such action.

In acknowledging that responsible government had not brought true democracy, Coady indicated that many people were consequently asking for a responsible economy, for the right to control their political affairs. He also suggested that this demand was reasonable and the people were determined. Accordingly, Coady advised that the wise among the leaders would assist the transition to take place quietly and peacefully and avoid the tragedy of blocking the people's attempts to reclaim their rights.

Democratic society. Although, as cited above, Coady recognized the limitations of democracy as practised in the society of his day, he believed that democracy's strength was that it would allow people to create a new society. He observed that democracy generates its own dynamics. Coady advocated that the democratic formula based on cooperation be attempted. He identified such a combination as being a scientific, inductive approach in which the final objective was clear and the main forces that were the means to the end were known. This approach, Coady maintained, would not be too rigid but rather would allow leeway for the natural evolution of society and the unforeseen repercussions of invention and discovery. Decisions about steps to be taken would be left to the aggregate intelligence of the people. So that the people could make their decisions in light of current and future developments, he advocated that scientific investigation and discovery would become the heritage of all with such findings being made available to everyone.

The advantage of the combination of democracy and cooperation was seen by Coady to be that the democratic way generated its own dynamics as it went along and that the cooperative formula fulfilled the important requirement of being easily applicable. Coady maintained that the adequate, sane, democratic social formula had to be such that all people, including the poor and those of low-grade intelligence, could make their contribution to the reconstruction of society. As each man would "hit his own blow," Coady forecasted that in their united strength these cooperators would provide the force of a sledgehammer in building the new social structure. It was Coady's belief that as these people became stronger and masters of their own economic affairs through cooperatives, the people would be inoculated against violent revolution. This would be so, in Coady's view, because people do not rise against themselves and dictatorships from the right or left would meet with strong resistance from the people.

Self-Change

Coady discussed how people could change themselves and work towards a freer life. Specifically, he identified how they could use their potential, use their initiative and live fully.

Use potential. Coady described the context within which many people worked, a context which did not allow them to be more than mechanical units. For example, he cited an example where one man's job could be to give a half-turn to nut number 960 in an automobile factory. In a society characterized by the division of labour principle and the industry's need for efficiency, Coady submitted that it may not be possible to change this man's task so it would require more of the man and less of the machine. Coady proposed, however, that if the people would raise their own economic institutions they would be saved for the destiny for which their God-given intellects endowed them. Visions of people controlling and pointing with pride to their own stores, credit unions and processing plants led Coady to assert that people would become regenerated, transformed from mechanical units to thinking men. Because people would be using their leisure time to develop such projects, Coady speculated that even the mechanical job of giving a half-turn to nut 960 would not be able to cast down a mind busy with plans of policy and procedure of its own business.

Use initiative. Having observed how man could become caught in a system that rendered his mind similar to that of a robot, Coady deemed the only salvation was for man to rouse himself before the cast hardened permanently, to kick aside the crutches that had been thrust upon him and to walk alone. After people had changed and improved themselves they could then, Coady suggested, move on to fulfilling their maximum possibilities in society.

Coady emphasized that the common people did not need to wait for a superman. Indeed, Coady asserted that by manipulating social forces they could do an apparently superhuman job for themselves. He emphasized that they had to do it themselves for he believed that the great masses held more hope for solving society's ills than did the renovation and conversion of those running society in the past. The common people, through the development of co-operatives, would gain control over their economic affairs and also gain strength. The regenerated masses, Coady predicted, would be the force that would not only bring life to themselves but would also be the counterforce to knock down the mighty from their seats of power and re-establish balance and equilibrium.

Live fully. Coady repeated often his conviction that once people were freed from economic insecurity, they would also be enabled to be free in other ways such as culturally and spiritually. He emphasized that the adult education program of the Antigonish Movement was not enough. It was, Coady stressed, only the beginning. The best way to illustrate his belief is to present his own statement on the matter:

> The kind of education just outlined is not enough. As we have said, it is only the beginning. We have no desire to remain at the beginning, to create a nation of mere shopkeepers, whose thoughts run only to groceries and to dividends. We want our men to look into the sun and into the depths of the sea. We want them to explore the hearts of flowers and the hearts of fellow-men. We want them to live, to love, to play and pray with all their being. We want them to be men, whole men, eager to explore all the avenues of life and to attain perfection in all their faculties. We want for them the capacity to enjoy all that a generous God and creative men have placed at their disposal. We desire above all that they will discover and develop their own capacities for creation. It is good to appreciate; it is godlike to create. Life for them shall not be in terms of merchandising but in terms of all that is good and beautiful, be it economic, political, social, cultural or spiritual. They are the heirs of all the ages and of all the riches yet concealed. All the findings of science and philosophy are theirs. All the creations of art and literature are for them. If they are wise they will create the instruments to obtain them. They will usher in the new day by attending to the blessings of the old. They will use what they have to secure what they have not. (Coady, 1939:163)

In summary, Coady believed that people could be liberated so that all would be free. This freedom included regaining rights within a democratic society which allowed people to create a new society. People could change society and also change themselves so that they could fulfil their possibilities in society. Coady viewed liberation at both societal and individual levels.

Topic VI: Professionalization

Coady did not use the word professionalization in his writings. What he did describe was the training of leaders in the Antigonish Movement and a plan for the organization of adult education.

Training of Leaders

He stated that the need for such training had been demonstrated by the difficulties which confronted the fieldworkers during the movement's first years and by the mistakes which were made and needed remediation. This training was required for both directing the adult education work and managing the various economic activities being set up. The type of leader that was needed was described as a person with more than average education, with vision and executive ability.

The purpose of the leader's training course, called the School for Leaders, was to train men and women to direct the social and economic endeavours of the rural and industrial workers. Coady also added that above all the school was intended to be inspirational.

The methods used in this month-long course provided both theory and practice opportunities for the participants. These men and women received some background in the field of social theory. Some instruments to help them "realize their dreams" were outlined. Demonstrations of the practical techniques of study and discussion groups were provided. A large-scale simulation was also provided as the school was turned into a miniature society with the student members organizing themselves and finding themselves confronted with the same difficulties as in the field.

Coady assessed this School for Leaders most favourably, suggesting that nothing in the movement's whole technique ever turned out more successfully than the school. After having had the exposure to the ideas and activities of the school, the participants returned to their communities with, as Coady stated, a flair for their work that rivalled the best zeal of the Communists.

Organization of Adult Education

Coady outlined how he envisioned adult education being organized so that it would obtain the intensity of education which he considered vital to a vigorous movement. The problem Coady identified was that neither Nova Scotia nor Canada had the concentration of population that existed in Europe where many adult education movements had been founded. He suggested that, for the adult education movement to progress as it should, there should be concentrated local education and at the same time widespread national development. Thus, he advocated the establishment of autonomous regional adult education associations consisting of all the study groups served by the corresponding regional library.

An advantage of this type of organization, Coady believed, was that it could overcome the difficulties of religious, racial and institutional prejudices because the people would be free to ally themselves with institutions of their own choosing. Study groups could apply to any university or agency willing and competent to help them. He believed that study groups and the universities should be interdependent.

Coady suggested that regional adult education associations should join up with the regional cooperative wholesale organization and through it promote an adequate system of education in the area. He viewed the federation of these districts as forming the national organization but also stressed the importance of keeping in contact with national organizations already in existence. Such contact would enable a mutually beneficial relationship. The national organizations would give the cooperative educators the national and international ideal, providing the local organizations with breadth and vision. In return, the national organizations would be imbued with vitality from the local organizations.

Thus, Coady developed a program for training the community leaders within the Antigonish Movement. In addition, he outlined how he believed adult education should be organized and coordinated to serve the Nova Scotian and Canadian populations.

Topic VII: Bureaucratization/Institutionalization

Coady did not specifically label education as having become bureaucratized; however, he discussed the defect of the traditional university and elaborated upon its ties to vested interests and its inability to promote the St. Francis Xavier type of adult education. His comments addressed both the concept of bureaucratization (increasing control through procedures) and institutionalization (formalizing to a structured institution). In addition, he outlined the form of organization which would be responsive to the St. Francis Xavier type of adult education and also recommended the type of organization which he believed would best serve the people. Tompkins wrote specifically about institutionalization and his ideas are also presented.

Defect of the Traditional University

The defect of the traditional university was, Coady wrote, that it likely widened the gulf between the masses who were not able to attend and the fortunate minority who did attend. He suggested that those who did attend used the universities in a self-serving way, for their own economic, social and political advantage.

Coady examined this defect within the larger societal context. He considered the larger, privately endowed universities to be so closely tied to the vested interests that they would be unable to do the St. Francis Xavier type of adult education with the masses. The universities, he stated, have been mixed up with the capitalist system and the social elite. Coady suggested that this relationship may have arisen because of the fear of non-survival financially of the universities. Nevertheless, he pointed out the consequences of such a route for ensuring self-preservation. The universities did get power and prestige by allying themselves with the socially elite and financially powerful; consequently, such an alliance also reinforced the false modesty of the masses and circumscribed the activities of those within the universities. Coady maintained that even though progressive professors wished to participate in the St. Francis Xavier type of adult education, in the invigorating exercise of directing alert adults in building a nation, such professors would have to continue to perform their more respectable and less offensive function.

Hindrances to promoting the kind of adult education which Coady advocated included the ties of the universities to the vested interests. Coady also suggested that another possible impediment to the people's progress was that even those who were willing to support such a cause were not sure of the loyalty of the people themselves. Such was the reason for the hesitation of institutions of learning to embark on bold programs for the benefit of the masses.

Form of Organization for St. Francis Xavier Adult Education

Yet, Coady did not outline only the problems in trying to promote the kind of adult education he favoured. He also indicated what form of organization would be responsive to this adult education and set forth the means for promoting it. Specifically, he suggested that the small college had a great opportunity for promoting this kind of education as would the state university. Once the people grew "in power," Coady proposed that the state university would find a new outlet. He noted that, similarly, the departments of education had felt a new demand on their educational facilities with the advent of popular adult learning.

Another sector he identified as having great promise in fostering such an adult education movement was the voluntary one including religious and other groups. Coady made a point of affirming their contribution and advised them not to be disheartened because they had no institution of learning at their disposal. He suggested that they create for themselves a university on the spot. This could be done, he proposed, by starting with an inexpensive organization consisting of a director, an office and a stenographer. Coady viewed such an organization as a potentially effective means of mobilizing the people and relaying to them the best thought of the day as it was conceived and generated by larger and more adequately equipped insitutions and organizations, departments of governments and philanthropic foundations. Thus, the voluntary agencies could extend to the people the benefits from such established organizations.

Lastly, Coady expressed his vision of what kind of organization would be needed to help people achieve an organic, interdependent society. He proposed the creation of a "people's research institute" which would be owned and financed by the people themselves and operated for the benefit of the entire country. The institute would concern itself with the problems of consumer research and closely allied fields. He believed it would help to remove the greatest obstacles to peace.

Tompkins' Warning: Beware of Institutionalizing

As Tompkins wrote quite specifically and pointedly about this subject, his words are a helpful addition. In an address about the future of the Antigonish Movement, he warned people to beware of institutionalizing. Tompkins (1938:1) summarized his reasons:

> When a thing becomes over-institutionalized, it tends to become sterile. It seems to me that this is what has happened to formal education. . . . It is fossilized education that is the opiate of the people. It keeps them from getting the truth about the condi-

tion that they are in.

To both Tompkins and Coady, the disadvantage of institutionalization was clear: institutionalized education ceases to serve the people justly.

Summary

Coady had definite views about each of the seven areas addressed by the research questions. He criticized the educational system for neglecting the common people and advocated that adult education should unlock life for all the people, encouraging them to think "straight" and enabling them to live fully. These assertions were based upon his belief in the common person's capabilities as citizen and learner. Accordingly, he suggested that people take a role as active citizens and not abdicate this responsibility to others.

A process Coady suggested for people to use when participating in social affairs was that of group action. He outlined how the Antigonish Movement was using this process specifically to deal with economic problems. Group action required cooperative relationships among people and adult educators prepared to be social reformers. It also required that people act to change society. Coady tenaciously held the belief that all people should do so. He envisioned a society characterized by democratic ideals.

Liberation thus involved changing society as well as changing individuals. Accordingly, community leaders were trained to assist their local communities in these processes and regional associations were established to maintain the vigor of the movement. Coady outlined the flexible type of organization necessary to promote this type of adult education and criticized the institution of the traditional university.

CHAPTER 8

Interpretation of Coady's Ideas

In this chapter, Coady's ideas, as analyzed into linking patterns, are examined. The patterns of linkages that emerged when the data from all seven research areas were synthesized are presented. These linking ideas are then interpreted in the context of Coady's time (*explicatio*).

Linkages Among Categories

Coady's ideas were analyzed by identifying similar and related categories and properties (listed in Appendix D). The connections that were traced among the fifty-seven categories developed into a pattern which linked the seven general areas (Meaning of Adult Education, View of Adults, Relationship Among Adults, Relationship of Adults to Society, Meaning of Liberation, View of Professionalization and Bureaucratization/Institutionalization) which focused the research. When this pattern was examined, the linkages were found to be encompassed by three categories within the Meaning of Adult Education. These three categories comprised the theme: the Normative Role of Adult Education. Thus, clusters of categories were formed that related to Coady's ideas that adult education is an instrument to unlock life for all the people, that adult education involves real thinking, and that the goal of adult education is to enable men to live fully. Each of these three patterns of linkages will be traced in the order outlined above.

Instrument to Unlock Life for All the People

A linkage was found among categories which addressed the idea that adult education is an instrument to unlock life for all the people. The categories associated with this idea served to deepen the understanding of it by illustrating the division of people within society and how only some of the people had life unlocked for them.

The divisions of society were described by the categories which identified people as masses, defaulters, poor and discouraged slaves on the one hand and as rugged individualists, enterprising crowd, vested interests, determiners of society and powerful masters on the other hand. These divisions were described as both an historical creation and one which existed also in the present. While the historical relationship of the masses relinquishing control to others led to the common person's loss of dignity in society, this inequitable relationship persisted into Coady's present society with the vested interests flaunting the difference between rich and poor, and trying to "keep the masses down." For their part, the masses held a distorted view of their abilities and were reluctant to try to change their lot.

Regarding the reasons for the divisions in society, Coady attributed the cause to a number of items including human nature itself, the traditional education system and the larger social system within which people lived. Of human nature, Coady affirmed both the desirable and undesirable, stating specifically that man had an innate charity but was also prone to demand his pound of flesh, and to desire wealth and power. Education traditionally had been an instrument which created classes in society through its skimming process. It thereby provided an exit for the ambitious to escape to lucrative jobs while the neglected masses were left behind. The larger social system within which people lived and related to one another was described as a vicious system in which some people succeeded at the expense of many other people. This system did not allow all people to be free and did not provide economic democracy. Society needed to be changed.

Given human nature and the inequalities in society, Coady suggested that the powerful would be unlikely to change society to unlock life for all the people. Agencies of the powerful determined the kind of society in which people lived and Coady viewed the powerful as protective of their self-serving interests. He cited the example of the traditional university, which was closely allied with the powerful and vested interests. It allowed a fortunate minority to attend and use the university for their own advantage while likely widening the gulf between the masses and this fortunate minority.

The promotion of education that would unlock life for all the people would not come from such agencies allied with the powerful but rather from organizations that could respond to the needs of the masses. Not only would charity be necessary but justice would also be required so that people could create their own organizations. It was the adult educator who was to create the conditions that would set the spark to regenerate the masses. This would entail pointing out the right relations of man to man in society and criticizing those which did then exist in society.

Involves Real Thinking

A linkage was found among categories which dealt with adult education as a process which involves real thinking. The categories associated with this idea described what real thinking was, how it was facilitated and how adult educators could be assisted to encourage it.

The process of real thinking was described by the categories which dealt with the contrast between the kind of thinking which led to distorted views and that which led to real thinking. The masses in having relinquished control to others (who represented the upper classes) became mystified by the areas such as business and finance. Consequently, the masses believed such areas were beyond their understanding and deemed themselves to be inferior to the upper classes, a perspective shared by the upper classes themselves. Building their understanding on false premises or "horse sense" the masses steered their lives away from the truth and developed a distorted view of themselves.

In contrast, real thinking was "straight thinking" or scientific thinking which enabled people to develop an understanding about complex subjects. This was done by reducing the subject to its smallest components and tracing the origin of the subject. Such real thinking would allow the previously-held distorted view to be corrected. Furthermore, adult education which involved real thinking would encourage people to appreciate their heritage and also engage in original and creative thinking on their own account. They could thus use their intellect for the destiny for which they were endowed, as thinkers rather than as mechanical units.

In general terms, learning which would facilitate real thinking entailed meeting people's basic needs first. By dealing with everyday pressing problems and achieving concrete results the learners would become motivated to seek new successes. While learning in a group setting, as social beings, they could be remotivated and transformed to become "live-wire" citizens and engage in social and economic group activities. Demonstrations of what other groups had done could provide a model for similar action.

In more specific terms, the ways in which the adult educators (Extension workers), community leaders and the learners themselves facilitated real thinking were outlined. The Extension workers were to mobilize people for action, doing so mainly through mass meetings and study groups. At the mass meetings, the adult educators attempted to break the people's old mind-sets and open them to new possibilities for rebuilding themselves and society. Accordingly, the adult educator was expected to criticize conditions as they existed and to point out the right relations of man to man in society. To assist in motivating people to action, specific examples of cooperative projects in Nova Scotia were shown. People were encouraged to form study groups.

Community leaders who had assisted the Extension workers by ensuring a large attendance at the meeting also helped direct the energies of people into definite channels and projects. Some community leaders provided leadership to study groups, in which the learners were most important. Learners were encouraged to participate, to come along under their own power and to parallel their learning with action. They were encouraged specifically to develop their own cooperative projects to meet their community's needs.

Assistance was provided to people in the community who wished to become study group leaders. St. Francis Xavier's Extension Department's School for Leaders acquainted these local leaders with the skills necessary for directing adult education work and for managing the various economic activities being set up. By providing inspiration, theory and practice opportunities, and confronting the participants with difficulties similar to those encountered in the field, the month-long School for Leaders was said to have given the participants a zeal and a flair for their work.

Enables Men to Live Fully

A linkage was found among categories which addressed adult education's goal of enabling men to live fully. The categories associated with this idea affirmed the capabilities of the common man, described the process by which the common man could take action to improve his situation and outlined how adult educators and the way in which adult education is organized could also bring about change.

The capabilities of the common man were described in the categories which identified the general characteristics of adults in general and of the common man in particular. Man was described as a social being who was both spiritual and material and whose moral fibre was toughened by difficult tasks. Although individual differences were acknowledged with respect to surviving in a highly-competitive society, Coady asserted that all people would perish if they did not have a vision of how things could be in the future. While Coady admired the human mind's capability of creating impressive thoughts and affirmed man's innate charity, Coady also acknowledged man's undesirable aspects and indicated that human beings could be otherwise. The common man's capabilities were emphasized, including those of being a learner and a wholly balanced individual. The distorted view which the common man held of his own capabilities was one which could be corrected, allowing himself to be remotivated to action.

This action which Coady advocated involved the common man uniting with others in group action to change society so that all would be free. While it was deemed necessary for man to change and improve himself in order to fulfil his maximum possibilities in society, it was through uniting with others that he would be able to obtain the control necessary to shape his own destiny. Such control was that of the economic processes of society, therein creating new economic institutions, agencies of service and a new social structure which would allow freedom to all. It was through the action of the masses reclaiming their rights initially in the economic sphere that they could later also experience other freedoms and embrace other opportunities and possibilities.

Adult educators were to organize the masses for the great change wave of group action and to give them the chance to express themselves. As described in the previous section, adult educators were to mobilize people for action through mass meetings and the encouragement of study groups. In working towards the goal of changing society, the adult educators of the Antigonish Movement were to adopt a positive program which offered a blueprint for progress, combining adult education and cooperation. As adult educators involved in educating for reform, they worked within a program which attempted to put human values back in their proper place and required bravery to point the finger at wrongdoers. Working together with the masses, adult educators were to enable them to solve their own problems and change the environment. This required that both the masses and the adult educators became intolerant of bad conditions.

The program of reform, which involved restoring ownership to the people, was to obtain social justice and a decent standard of living for all. Gaining control in these areas would lead to similar action in other areas of life such as politically, culturally and spiritually. Adult educators were to assist in social change which was considered by Coady to be a collective enterprise with a goal of working towards an interdependent society of free people.

Achieving this goal would require more than traditional charity or social service; rather people were to create free organizations, institutions and new opportunities. Adult education which was of this non-traditional nature was not likely to be sponsored by traditional university structures; however, small colleges and voluntary agencies were viewed as being able to make a great contribution to this kind of adult education. Small colleges and state universities could respond to the new demands of the people. Voluntary groups and agencies were viewed as potentially useful in a unique way. They could, Coady suggested, set up their own "university on the spot" and extend to the people the benefits from the larger established organizations. Indeed, he proposed a people's research institute that would concern itself entirely with the people's needs.

Coady suggested also that adult education become organized regionally and nationally in order to maintain a vigorous movement and to reach a scattered population. To these ends, autonomous regional adult education associations were envisioned which would link study groups served by regional libraries. Such regional associations were to join up with the regional cooperative wholesale organization to promote education in the area. In a similar fashion, a federation of regional associations was to become a national organization which would relate to other national organizations. It was through such an integrated system that Coady believed that the masses of people could be reached and enabled to live more fully.

In summary, Coady's theme of the normative role of adult education consisted of three main ideas: that adult education is an instrument to unlock life for all the people, that it involves real thinking, and that it enables men to live fully. In outlining these ideas it becomes apparent that each of these ideas builds upon the previous one. That is to say that initially life must be unlocked for all the people and that such unlocking leads to real thinking and then ultimately to living fully.

Explicatio: Interpretation of Coady's Ideas in His Context

Lastly, in this chapter, the patterns of ideas that have emerged are interpreted in keeping with the context of Coady's time. In so doing, an attempt is made to answer the question "What did this mean to Coady and the people in their particular time?"

Interpreting Coady's linking theme, the normative role of adult education first requires that the reader attempt to move from the present into the world of the text (Lochhead, 1977). As was outlined in Chapter 3, such movement can be assisted by considering particular questions about the text and its context.

Thus far, in this thesis, an attempt has been made to answer certain questions such as authorship, date of writing and historical context. The life and work of Moses Coady, the author of the writings examined, was described in Chapter 4. The time span during which the various items were published was identified in Chapter 3 as ranging from

1938 to 1959, with particular significance being placed upon the year 1939, when Masters of Their Own Destiny was published. Thus, the questions concerning authorship and timing of the writings have been addressed.

The historical events and developments which took place prior to and at the time when Masters of Their Own Destiny was written were reviewed in Chapters 6 and 7. These chapters also described the forms of social organization that existed at that time as well as the political, social and psychological factors that were at work when the text was written. These areas are summarized briefly where relevant to the interpretation of Coady's ideas.

There are some additional questions which need to be answered concerning the nature of the text and the audience addressed by the text. The answers to these questions are in two parts. First, the text Masters of Their Own Destiny is dealt with because it formed the basis for identifying Coady's themes. The additional items are dealt with as a second group because they were used to saturate the categories generated by the analysis of Coady's major volume.

Masters of Their Own Destiny is a narrative which tells the story of the Antigonish Movement from Coady's perspective. As such a narrative, it was written and published for the general public.

The other selected items which were written by Coady consist of a variety of pamphlets; a shorter book; newspaper and journal articles; and letters to friends and relatives as well as to organizations and political, religious and educational leaders. In addition, this group of items includes radio broadcasts to the general public and speeches to a wide variety of organizations. A complete list of the groups and individuals addressed as well as the specific newspapers and journals which published the articles is found in Appendix F. These various items include some which were written directly to people in the Antigonish Movement as well as retrospective accounts of the Antigonish Movement.

Thus, both the nature of the writings and the intended audiences consisted of a variety of different types. Yet, a core of Coady's ideas was found throughout them all, whether items were written for public readership or to individuals, or whether the audience was an association for adult education or a home and school convention. His concern for adult education was evident from these writings, writings which were for the most part either narratives of the Antigonish Movement or expositions of his ideas about adult education and issues related to it. While Coady may have written the story of the Antigonish Movement to provide an example to motivate people, he also wrote articles and speeches to influence public opinion about adult education and other issues of concern to him.

Unlock Life for All the People

Turning then to Coady's theme of the normative role of adult education, his three main ideas can now be interpreted. The first idea, that adult education is an instrument to unlock life for all the people, must be viewed in light of the situation in that time, in the depression of the 1930s. The masses to which Coady referred were the farmers, fishermen and industrial workers (including the miners) who experienced adverse conditions, whether they were living in the depopulated rural areas, small fishing villages, company houses or the slums of the industrial urban centres.

It was the merchant or middleman, to whom the masses were in debt, that Coady labelled the rugged individualist. While Coady did not discuss the system within which the merchants worked, the historical context described earlier in this study reveals that the Maritime merchants, too, encountered difficulties (e.g. freight rates). With the decline of the local industrialists, industries became externally owned with the decision-makers representing the interests of other countries and not of the local community or its workers. At whatever level the inequities existed, Coady condemned the system which encouraged people to profit at the expense of other people and he advocated the reform of this system (capitalism). Coady's stance was consistent with the Catholic social teaching (Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI) that capitalism should be reformed; however, as is discussed later, Coady's plan for reform differed from the official position.

Coady's idea (articulated earlier by Tompkins) that education should be directed to the masses of adults came at a time when education was considered the route whereby the privileged youth could escape to a good job. Indeed, Coady himself had once been committed to the promise of improving society solely through the education of its youth. While his experience working with a group of adults at the Margaree School "converted" him to believing in the value of educating adults directly, society's dominant philosophy of education was that the benefits of educating the fortunate few would trickle down to the masses. In addition, research in the area of adult learning was in its infancy with Thorndike's book Adult Learning being published in 1928. The call, issued by Tompkins and Coady, to take education to the people, would have been received as a radical challenge to the existing system.

Another idea that would have been viewed as a challenge was that the masses themselves, amidst their conditions of poverty and apathy, needed to form their own organizations and work together to change society. Not only was this a challenge to the masses to create a new future but, as Baum (1980:193) suggests, this grass-roots movement cut across the grain of the dominant North American culture and the dominant Catholicism which viewed religion "as a source of consolation rather than a call to action."

Coady asserted that the powerful would not change society because of their vested interest in maintaining the *status quo*. Accordingly, he suggested that the adult educator would regenerate the masses and criticize the conditions of the *status quo*. While leaders did rise from the ranks of the community people, the adult educator initially was most often a member of the clergy or sometimes a teacher. That this leadership should be provided by clergy was never questioned by Coady in his writings. Indeed Tompkins (1921:30) wrote that the clergy must be the ones to lead the way because they could work in the selfless way that was required and because they had the training and influence necessary for arousing "the interest of others in the pursuit of noble ideals." Similarly, Coady was not a reformer with respect to the power ascribed to the hierarchy of the Catholic church and thereby accepted the leadership status accorded by the communities to their priests (MacKay, 1984).

Thus, adult education as an instrument to unlock life for all the people was directed at those people who were considered to be most in need economically, educationally and socially. These were also the people who had been neglected by the established educational system. Accordingly, Coady's idea of adult education ran counter to the prevailing practices of the time. It is also evident from the interpretation that this idea of unlocking life for all the people was championed by those people traditionally seen as advocates for the disadvantaged, namely church leaders.

Involves Real Thinking

Coady's second idea revealed the educational process he believed would unlock life for all the people. In short, he referred to this process as one which involved real thinking, in contrast to the distorted thinking which he believed was characteristic of the masses. Again, this idea must be examined in the context of the apathy that Coady described as prevalent among the common people. Coady attributed this apathy and distorted view to the effects that private enterprise had created. Having relinquished control to such enterprising individuals or companies, the common people retreated from the world of business and finance allowing themselves to become mystified by it. Coady pointed out that their subsequent feelings of inferiority served the interests of those in control of the economic enterprises.

Accordingly, Coady suggested an educational process which would expose this myth of inferiority and the causes of economic domination. The first step of breaking people's mind-sets so that they could be opened to new possibilities was consistent with the principles of adult education outlined by Thorndike. While affirming the adult's ability to learn, Thorndike (1928:177) did warn that a potential obstacle to be overcome was that an adult might hold tenaciously to ideas that would interfere with the new ideas being presented. Coady recognized that people had such old prejudices to be overcome and proposed that the mass meeting would do so. The language Coady used to describe the mass meeting was strong and vivid in war-time images: intellectual bombing operation, blast minds, use intellectual dynamite. Coady's language reflected the time at which he was writing: 1939, the inter-war period.

To penetrate the myths held by the people and subsequently enable the people to recognize the truth of their situation, Coady believed that they needed to engage in scientific thinking. It is important that this phrase not be taken too literally, but rather that Coady's intent be interpreted.[1] Although Coady expressed a belief in scientific rationalism, he was aware of the debate about the limits of the approach when considering human processes. Accordingly, he clarified that when he used the term scienspirit that he suggested reducing complex subjects to their tific thinking he meant "straight thinking" that would prevent people from adopting false beliefs. It is in this simpler components (reductionism) so that people could understand the causes of their situation.

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[1] See Hockett (1970:41-44) for an elaboration of the process of positive criticism.

Coady frequently cited examples to demonstrate that the mystery of economic enterprise could be solved when it was traced back to its original, humble beginnings. The entrepreneur then could be seen as a person who was not unlike the common people in ability and was engaged in a much less complex process than they had previously imagined. In addition, the people were also told that although the economic system treated them unfairly, they themselves shared the blame. Coady proposed that once people understood why they were in their oppressive situation they could develop their own solutions. Thus, his view of the role of scientific thinking or real thinking was that it should enable people to free themselves. This perspective is reminiscent of the aim of the Enlightenment, and not of scientism.

Real thinking could also be encouraged, Coady believed, by motivating the people through showing them examples of what others had done and the benefits thereby gained. This suggestion coincided with Thorndike's (1928:179) assertion that adults were often not interested in the studying itself but in the advantage they gained through it. At different times, Coady himself wrote about this same idea. To demonstrate the potential benefits of engaging in a program of adult education and economic cooperation, Coady drew upon his comparative knowledge of cooperatives in Europe and Nova Scotia and acquainted the people with these examples. To people with no prior experience with such organizations, the idea of becoming involved in such self-help endeavours would have posed a great challenge.

In preparation for engaging in such action, Coady suggested that the people should form study groups to explore the means for meeting their own community's needs. This sequencing of learning appears to have followed what Thorndike (1928) labelled the "Dewey doctrine:" "First the need, then the knowledge or technique to satisfy the need" (Dewey in Thorndike, 1928:190). Thus, Coady's actions (and those of Tompkins before him) were in line with the research and scholarly work performed in adult education at that time. Indeed, Coady (1939:45) remarked that although he followed Thorndike's work with great interest, he found it useful as a confirmation of the validity of the approach he had already taken.

Coady's ideas that adult education involves real thinking on the part of these adult learners implied a freedom for them. Firstly, there was the freedom from the self-defeating thinking that had prevented them from asserting themselves. Secondly, there was the freedom to engage in "straight thinking" which led to original and creative thoughts and subsequently to action. Coady's commitment to methods of non-traditional education which encouraged such thinking and to training community people to direct these activities can be interpreted as illustrating a deep confidence in the intellectual abilities of the common people. Such a stance would have been a threatening one to the people who benefitted from the attitude that the common people were inferior.

Enables Men to Live Fully

The third idea of Coady's, that adult education enables men to live fully, builds upon the previous two ideas and illustrates Coady's commitment to his belief in the capabilities of the common man. To Coady, living fully meant that people were developing their human potentialities in all areas from the physical to the spiritual. In order for such a goal to be realized, Coady proposed that first everyone should get a fair share of the material wealth. Obtaining this full life entailed the people themselves gaining control of the economic processes by creating new institutions. Interpreting Coady's stance in the context of his time reveals that his view differed from the official papal one.

For instance, Coady blamed the capitalist system for the callous and unkind relationships among people, stating that people were born to love, not hate but were caught up in a vicious system. Coady's solution to the problem was to make changes to the economic system by encouraging the people to create new economic institutions. The popes, while advocating the reform of capitalism, viewed the solution as protecting the poor from exploitation by the rich by ensuring that justice was given to the workers. While the employer was expected to be fair to the workers, thus enabling the labourer to assume a more respected position, the workers were expected to resign themselves to their positions within the economic system. Thus, the working class was to be regenerated within the existing economic institutions. This solution arose from a different view of capitalism. According to Baum (1980:84) Pope Pius XI advocated the reform of capitalism but said that it was not to be condemned and that it was not vicious by its very nature. Accordingly, his solution did not include a change in the economic system.

To Coady, one aspect of getting a fair share of the wealth was in restoring ownership to the people, with private property being a prime example. He believed that through such ownership, people would become rooted in the community and subsequently fulfil their responsibilities as citizens. In this view, he shared the belief of Pope Leo XIII that private property should be made more accessible. Coady also made similar references, as did the popes, to the role of the elimination of poverty as a weapon against communism and socialism. In this area, Coady held steadfastly to the papal doctrine. It must be remembered that during Coady's time, there was a period of quite visible communist activity especially in industrial Cape Breton. In his writings, Coady expressed his fear of the allurement of communism to the people in desperate situations. He considered this movement to be announcing a false claim to a better life. Coady, in turn, strengthened his resolve to promote the Antigonish Movement which he believed would truly lead people to a full life.

It was the task of those involved in adult education to organize the masses to undertake the changes necessary for them to achieve their visions. In suggesting that adult educators should give people the chance to express themselves and should enable them to solve their own problems, Coady again revealed his belief in the capabilities of the people to create change and live more fully.

To an educational system that was geared to maintaining the privileged, Coady's plan for change was a radical departure in aims, philosophy and method. Coady's requirement that adult educators be social reformers and set up educational structures responsive to the common people was in direct contrast to the traditional and "respectable" educator of the day.

Summary

The linkages that were traced among the various categories of Coady's ideas were found to be encompassed by three categories comprising the theme of the normative role of adult education. These three categories were Coady's ideas that adult education is an instrument to unlock life for all the people, that adult education involves real thinking, and that the goal of adult education is to enable men to live fully.

When interpreted in the context of Coady's time, his ideas reveal their nature as a critique of society. For instance, suggesting that adult education should unlock life for all the people by directing education to those who had been neglected by the traditional educational system ran counter to the established practices. His idea that adult education should involve real thinking led to a process whereby disadvantaged learners could free themselves from the self-defeating attitudes which had prevented them from acting in their own interests. In so doing, he challenged a mind-set which had served the interests of the privileged. Lastly, asserting that adult education should enable men to live fully also challenged this old mind-set by affirming the capabilities of the common people. By outlining how he believed people would begin to live fully by obtaining some economic security, he also demonstrated his challenging stance. His plan for people to gain some control of the economic processes went beyond the papal teachings about social justice and his requirement that adult educators be social reformers disqualified traditional educators. In these ways, Coady and his ideas challenged the society of his day.

CHAPTER 9

Applicatio: Interpretation of Coady's Ideas in the Contemporary Context

In this chapter, Coady's ideas are examined for the directions they suggest in the contemporary context. Particular emphasis is placed upon highlighting his meaning of liberation in adult education and the implications of his ideas for the trend towards professionalization.

In considering the directions which Coady's ideas suggest for our time, it is necessary first to examine our world today in light of its similarities and differences to Coady's world. There is abundant literature about the state of our present society and the projected trends of our future society [See Toffler (1970, 1984), Robertson (1978)]. Drawing from such sources, it is evident that our present society has moved from the stage of an industrial society of Coady's era to a post-industrial society. Ellul (1981:45) refers to this as the technological society, stating that "scholars now generally agree that the watershed between the older society and the typically technological society came around 1945." In addition, the claims that present society, amidst the new technologies, is becoming an information society (Bell, 1973) are witnessed by the latest study released by the Science Council of

Canada: The Uneasy Eighties: The Transition to an Information Society (Cordell, 1985). Nevertheless, there are certain themes within Coady's writings which reoccur in the present society.

Similarities of Present Society to Coady's World

While the stage of societal development is different today than during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, Cordell (1985:136) suggests that the uncertainty of the uneasy eighties is similar to the early part of the Industrial Revolution as it too was characterized by "confusion and dislocation." Indeed, the problems that troubled Coady in his day (e.g. world peace, widening gap between rich and poor, and the need for the reform of social and economic institutions) are being echoed in the contemporary context. For instance, at a "Reshaping Development 1984 and Beyond" seminar (sponsored by the Vanier Institute of the Family) at St. Mary's University in Halifax, 1983, 60 participants dealt with the question: "How can we reshape our economic and social structures so that they provide contexts in which individual persons, families, and communities can develop fulfilling ways of life?" (Vanier Institute, 1983:iii). This question is reminiscent of Coady's exhortation to change society so that all people could have the good and abundant life.

The post-industrial world described in the proceedings of this seminar is one in which "the economic crisis, which of course is a human crisis, is leading us to realize that we need to develop new ways of living and working" (Ibid.). Citing the trends that show that the traditional labour market will not continue to redistribute the national wealth adequately through paid work and that the welfare state is also becoming weakened by low economic growth rates, the authors of the report chronicle how the participants explored questions regarding work, income distribution, social security systems and appropriate education. Two of the questions appear particularly reminiscent of Coady's concerns for liberating people and providing relevant education:

> Can social systems, which now tend to increase apathy, dependency and alienation, be restructured so that they mobilize and liberate the capacities of people? All viable social institutions embody an important life-learning component. Therefore, does the field of education need to be reconstituted to take this into account? (Ibid.:v)

It is interesting to note that the "appropriate education" suggested by the guest speakers on this topic highlighted community-oriented university education (Howell, 1983) and the roles and benefits of non-formal education (Antoft, 1983). In arguing for community-oriented university education, Howell (1983:62) suggests that contemporary educational institutions are not fostering critical inquiry nor providing the vision needed to develop a "creative and productive future." Rather, he asserts that education "tends to mirror the contradictions of society and to reinforce our difficulties" (Ibid.). Calling for the university to become more community-oriented and responsive to community and citizens' groups (rather than to the needs of corporations) Howell (1983:63) asks:

> Will we develop forms of education that encourage people to be more creative and independent and thereby help people struggle against economic and social forces that tend to oppress them, or will we merely continue with forms of education that serve society's short-range interests, with all of the unfortunate consequences that are likely to follow?

The next speaker, whose interest in the Folk High School Movement was originally "triggered" by studying the Antigonish Movement, expressed admiration for the tradition that these schools represent, in fostering self-reliance within the people (Antoft, 1983:63). In so doing, the discussion seems to come back "full circle" to the original concerns that Coady held about liberating people.

Indeed, his concerns about people gaining control of their destiny will be raised at the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department's second annual Topshee Memorial Conference, June 21-23, 1985. This particular conference will "focus on questions about democratic control of our economic destiny" bringing together people of various backgrounds to discuss "the obstacles facing organizations whose mandate is to maximize membership power, e.g., labour unions; producer, consumer and worker cooperatives; community economic development organizations" (MacNeil, 1985:3). This conference is a current reminder of the social movement tradition of the adult education of the Antigonish Movement. While such a torch burns in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, is there a flicker of such commitment generally amongst adult educators in our current technological society?

While the answer to such a question requires a study in itself, the writings of some adult education researchers may provide some clues. In an article outlining the stages in the development of Canadian adult education, Selman (1984) chronicles the highlights of the various periods. The most recent period, 1960-1982, includes the activity resulting from federal legislation regarding training, the expansion of adult basic education and English as a second language, the growth of community colleges and part-time university programs, the advances in distance education, the community development programs of the sixties and early seventies, the expansion of continuing professional education, and the increasing professionalization of the adult education field. Selman (1984) ends his article by stating that because of the present depressed economy and budget cuts, adult education programs are suffering with many of the people who are most in need of the services being the most vulnerable to losing them.

Indeed, even in more prosperous times, the accusation was levied that the people who received the most adult education were already possessing a high degree of education rather than the poor, the unemployed or the uneducated (CAAE/ICEA, 1982). The CAAE's/ICEA's (1982) Report, From the Adult's Point of View, stated that since 1977 there has been a "reduction in the provision of basic education to adults" while the National Training Act of 1982 emphasized the short-term skills needed by the present technological society. By providing more short-term skills training to selected students, it appears once again that those with the lowest initial education are being regarded as a lower priority for receiving the education that they need. Another of Coady's themes thus reappears in contemporary society.

One year after this report was released, The Globe and Mail (1983:1,4) issued a special section on continuing education with headlines including "Billions spent, yet programs fail adults in need" and "1.5 million Canadians cannot find work but majority taking classes are employed." In one of these articles, CAAE's Executive Director is quoted as saying that "adult education is not really accepted as a right" and explains that if it were, more would be done to deal with those with the greatest need (Morrison, 1983:4). Morrison (1983:4) concludes that "adult education is being used mainly to reinforce the elite in society." Among the problems cited as plaguing the field of adult education are the lack of coordination among the providers which results in cancelled programs and competition for funds which can result in more effort being placed upon "attracting customers than delivering the goods" (The Globe and Mail, 1983:4). Such emphases cannot be considered characteristic of a commitment to social movement concerns. Rather, such a situation calls forth the need expressed by Coady for flexible adult education organizations to be set up as an antidote to the self-serving orientation of educational institutions.

In summary, similarities exist between the past and present societies regarding the following aspects: confusion, problems of social inequality and apathy, education not reaching the disadvantaged, and the need for reform of educational institutions.

Differences of Present Society to Coady's World

In examining adult education as a social enterprise, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:243) address the question: "Can adult education save the world?" They assess a marked difference between the leaders in adult education of the 1920s and 1930s and those of today. The former believed "fervently" that adult education could change the world by enabling the citizens in a democracy to fulfil their civic responsibilities whereas the latter seldom challenge adult educators to "combat poverty, injustice, civic apathy and other social evils" although such old problems still remain and new ones develop (Ibid.). The reasons Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:243) cite for an erosion in the belief that adult education could improve the "social and political order" include unrealistic expectations, inadequate resources, unorganized and sporadic activity in educating for social change, and the lack of stability of such education due to its inherent political nature and the threat it poses to established interests.

Yet, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:244) do not view the situation as hopeless, pointing to the survival of the Highlander residential adult education centre (established in 1932) which has an aim to improve conditions through problem solving and collective action. Given the problems surrounding world peace, social justice, environmental protection and urban decay (just to mention a few) and the role that citizens ought to play in making informed judgements and taking action on such issues, the role of adult education for civic competence seems imperative (Ibid.). Mass civic education, while less controversial than social action education, could assist citizens in acquiring the information and understanding needed to make informed judgements on complex issues.

Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:244) suggest that this could be accomplished by mounting nationwide and even international educational campaigns using televised programs and supplementary print materials for local discussion groups held in various community settings. Such programs could explore "all sides of complex public issues" and would be developed by a variety of agencies. This suggestion is reminiscent of the methods used by the Antigonish Movement, the Canadian Farm Forum, the Citizens' Forum, and, to some extent, the CAAE in its recent attempt to encourage discussion groups in conjunction with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's series "A Planet for the Taking." While recommending the potential benefits of such adult education, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:245) warn that such gains "will not be realized until the belief that adult education can help to change the world is once again firm."

Given the rapidity of sociotechnological change, the world that is to be changed is one of increasing complexity. If adult educators are to affect future change as well as help to solve present problems then Hoare's (1983:21) findings that adult educators tend to avoid an analysis of future needs and that "many practioners refrain from acceptance of, or involvement in, change" indicate that the role of adult education, in creating social change may well be in jeopardy. Indeed, Hoare (1983:21) reports that regarding dealing with social problems, "discomfort is reflected among many practitioners" and that they do not generally envision themselves involved in such areas "when actions are requested for augmenting or forestalling events or prospectively responding to their occurrence." Could it be that adult educators themselves are intimidated by the formidable challenge that the technological society and its rapidly changing future presents?

Perhaps the rugged individualists of Coady's day now include the technological forces of today. While Coady considered the entrepreneurs in his time to be robbing others of their individualism, contemporary philosophers and social critics and even scientists themselves are warning about the ways which technology is currently and may further rob people of their individuality [see Ellul (1967, 1981), Habermas in Misgeld (1983), Suzuki (1985)]. This loss is characterized not only as that of job opportunity and fulfillment but also of the very human capacities of meaningful communication and critical thinking. Thus, technology's influence is portrayed as a controlling one which can invade and pervade even the very basic processes of human existence. While Coady had forecasted this trend, the magnitude of its consequences are much greater today.

In addition, the entrepreneurial, rugged individualists of Coady's time have expanded to include large multinational corporations which exert unseen influence on the politics and economics of the nation and which also present a larger challenge if viewed as the forerunners of a new form of comprehensive and efficient world management. That the problems of the "vicious system of capitalism" have been exacerbated by such operational and technological development is shown by the present problems with structural unemployment. Coady's wish that the cooperative movement would transform society by enabling the citizens to control their consumer institutions (and thus also the country) has not been realized. Society has become increasingly impersonal in structure.

As a result, apathy exists not only about the economy but also about the forces such as technology which are exerting an increasing control over people's lives. To the masses (who in Nova Scotia were uniquely represented by the farmers, fishermen and miners) who are oppressed, having lost hold of their economic destiny, are added people with a great variety of occupational and educational backgrounds who have recently lost hold of their economic and occupational destinies.

In summary, a number of differences exist between Coady's society and the present one. The ones which were discussed in this section include: the attitudes of the adult education leaders regarding adult education's role in social change, the sociotechnological and economic changes and their effects. It is in the context of these similarities and differences that Coady's ideas are now examined for the directions they suggest for the present society.

Coady's Ideas: Suggesting Directions for the Present Society

Taking "the fire" from Coady's ideas requires that they be examined for the insight they might offer for taking action in contemporary society. This process was initiated in Chapter 4 where the reader was encouraged to enter the world of the text. It is now necessary to focus directly upon the relevance of Coady's ideas for the present time. To the extent that Coady's ideas were considered prophetic in his day, they may now serve as a basis for critical reflection for contemporary adult educators. Specifically, Coady's three ideas concerning the normative role of adult education are addressed, the meaning of liberation in adult education is highlighted, and the current professionalization trend is discussed in light of these findings.

Unlocking Life for All the People

Clearly, Coady's priority was in working with the poor and undereducated whom he believed the traditional educational system had rejected. It was to be the task of adult education to regenerate "the masses," requiring that the adult educator criticize the conditions of society and assist the people in developing their own solutions and organizations. Today, given the growth of the adult education enterprise, these ideas may well make some adult educators feel uncomfortable. Viewed another way, these words may provide a basis for "keeping adult education honest." This "honesty," as this expression is used, refers to being true to the calling of adult education and its roots as a social movement.

Given the plurality of the present society and the resulting diversity in adult learners' needs, there may be many adult educators focusing their efforts solely on efficient business management (marketing, budgeting and so forth). While such adult educators may truly believe that they are serving society by programming for meeting the greatest need (defined quantitatively) of adult learners in general, Coady's ideas provide a challenge by dealing with a qualitatively different concept of need. To him, serving those with the greatest need meant reaching those whose basic needs for education were least met. This understanding highlighted the existence of inequalities of resources and of access to educational opportunities.

Given the information presented in the previous section, the adult education enterprise in general would not be considered to be unlocking life for all the people. In fact, by not serving those adults who need adult education the most, it would appear that the same criticisms that Coady levied at the traditional education system could be now directed at the adult education system. Also, to the extent that adult education programs (especially ones designed for the disadvantaged) merely prepare people for a labour-intensive economy by trying to fit people into a work situation that is rapidly becoming obsolete, these programs too create classes in society. The "vested interests" would be served by having the masses slotted into their place (a vacant space in the production-consumption cycle) in society.

In a similar vein, such programs appear to be based on an adjustment mentality. That is to say that they attempt to do patch work to meet the short-term goals of improving the disadvantaged to middle-class standards rather than attacking the causes of disadvantage. Adult educators employed in these situations would most likely not be criticizing the conditions of society for, in so doing, the very foundation of their program would be undermined. Similarly, it is quite unlikely that these adult educators would be involved in helping people develop their own solutions to their problems and their own organizations to do so. Rather, such educators would be engaged in imposing a solution devised by people other than those who have the problem.

This is not to say, however, that all contemporary adult education does not follow the principles which Coady advocated. In fact, from the information gleaned in the previous section it appears that the adult basic education programs that are initiated at various levels of government seem to retain the perspective outlined above. Indeed, there are pockets of adult education work which does involve the disadvantaged in dealing critically with their own problems. Yet, as pointed out by Roberts (1983:113,117), in a study of alternative adult education in Alberta, such groups tend to lie outside of the formal institutions and structures of adult education and also tend to rely heavily upon volunteer effort. Thus, it would appear that a dynamic is occurring similar to that in which Coady was involved; however, in the contempory situation the mainstream practices which are not providing the education for "unlocking life for all the people" are those of adult education and not just those of the traditional education system.

Coady's idea that adult education should unlock life for all the people suggests that adult educators today should consider the extent to which contemporary adult education serves those who need it most. Accordingly, such a critique of the field could also lead to identifying ways in which adult education could become a regenerating force amongst people. To the extent that the present system of adult education itself blocks this regenerative force, ways of reforming the existing structures and resource allocation should be considered so that those who most need adult education may engage in it in the spirit in which Coady intended.

Involving Real Thinking

Central to Coady's emphasis upon real thinking was his desire that people break through their distorted thinking and understand the causes of their problems. Their problems were not seen as isolated from the broader society; rather, they were viewed in the context of social relationships with particular attention given to the dominating effects of the powerful. The process of encouraging real thinking involved the adult educator engaging people in a process of reflection upon their situation with a view towards changing it through the self-help method of economic cooperation. While some people might argue that Coady imposed a solution of economic cooperation, it would be fairer to state that he suggested a general method (selected because of its success in similar situations of economic and social distress) within which people could develop their own solutions.

For the contemporary adult educator, Coady's idea again raises the question of who benefits from the present practice of adult education and why. It must be recalled that this process in the Antigonish Movement took place in local community facilities after the educator had worked with some local community people who articulated the problems of the community and animated its members. (In the 1960s, such a style of working was visible as part of the community development process.) In contrast today, many adult educators must approach the adult education clientele through need surveys (see Alexander, 1980) and attract them to programs using marketing techniques. That these processes are selective in attracting a particular group of learners (educated, not poor, and motivated for learning) and meeting their needs is quite probable. The adult education literature abounds with assertions that adult learners tend to reject formal structures with which they might associate past failure (Knowles, 1980) and such formal processes may be perceived in the same manner.

Given that the process which Coady advocated involved the learner reflecting upon his or her relationship to society and then acting upon such social awareness on his or her own behalf, the question must be asked today, "To what extent does adult education practice enable learners to reflect upon their relationship to the present advanced technological society?" An even more searching question includes the aspect of empowering learners to act to change an oppressive situation. Adult educators using the best of andragogical techniques (starting where the learner is, drawing upon his/her experience and so forth) would fall short of encouraging the process of real thinking if they neglected the societal context. Given the accelerating rate of change in society and its present and potential impact upon its citizens as learners, it seems rather unreasonable that adult educators, if Hoare's (1984) findings are to be accepted, tend to avoid active involvements in influencing future social change. Coady's vision stands in stark contrast to the present confusion about what society is or ought to be.

Coady's idea of encouraging real thinking raises the issue of the roles of the adult educator and learner. Accordingly, adult educators need to consider how they can assist learners in reflecting upon their problems in society and take action to improve such conditions in society. This requires that the adult educator have a certain commitment to social change via the development of techniques of critical analysis, wherein it is recognized that "real thinking" is more important than acculturation.

Enabling Men to Live Fully

Consistent with his view of considering the adult within the total societal context, Coady believed that adult education should enable men to live fully in all aspects of their lives. Yet, such fullness could not be attained without first ensuring economic justice. To do so, Coady challenged adult educators to become social reformers by assisting people in their thinking and subsequent action in the economic sphere. Specifically, these leaders and learners set up adult education groups and cooperatives as alternative structures to those of the dominant society. This interdisciplinary approach (adult education and economics) enabled the learners to create and control their own project in economic change. Such involvement was intended to lead to active involvement in other areas of life.

There are a number of directions that Coady's ideas and actions suggest for adult educators in the present society to consider. There is the prime importance that Coady places upon dealing with economic problems. This could be called Coady's "economic imperative." Contemporary adult educators should consider how (and whether) this fundamental issue is addressed through adult education efforts today. Coupled with this consideration is that of method, namely, to what extent are adult educators involved in assisting self-help endeavours and how could/should they become involved? Such questions can be reflected upon today in light of the history of self-help endeavours such as cooperatives and the experiences of programs such as the USA's War on Poverty in the 1960s.

Though the transformation sought in each case was not realized, a "culture of poverty" gained recognition as a widely-ranging phenomenon, and interdisciplinary approaches to total problems that involved total solutions became more acceptable. While a valid criticism remains that anti-poverty programs have merely attempted to "tidy up the ragged edges of the good society" (Jackson and Ashcroft, 1972:5), Coady and those in the Antigonish Movement did attempt to look critically at society's faulty foundations.

While the cooperative movement is now criticized as being too marginal to achieve the transformation of which Coady dreamed, the challenge remains to consider the question of tackling economic problems through the setting up of self-help alternative structures. The marginality issue now raises the question of considering political solutions.

In addition, Coady's challenge, that adult education should lead to a full life, should provide an impetus for adult educators today to consider whether their adult education practice deals with the whole person in his or her total community. Given the recent technological innovations, particularly in distance education, emphasis may not be placed upon developing structures of group support. While the focus of such programs may well develop a person's capacities in the broader cultural areas, the opportunities for using such development to create change or participate in the community may not be encouraged. Indeed the problems alluded to earlier regarding the agencies providing adult education demonstrate an increasing lack of connection between the learners in their community and the learning being provided. In keeping with Coady's encouragement of adult learners in setting up more responsive community-based systems, adult educators should consider the feasibility of community control of adult education facilities and progams. In a manner similar to that of the cooperatives, adult learners could then obtain a measure of control over the adult education which they ultimately receive.

Coady's idea that adult education should enable men to live fully raises the issue of the involvement of adult educators in economic issues, in self-help efforts and in encouraging greater participation of the learner in his or her community.

The Meaning of Liberation from Coady's Perspective

It is evident from examining Coady's main ideas about adult education that his perspective on liberation was a comprehensive one. It involved assisting the learners in personal change (especially attitudes, self-knowledge as well as skills) that was to be directed also towards changing society to counter the forces which had kept such learners subservient. Thus adult education liberated the learners within themselves and in interaction with the community. For Coady, there was no apparent conflict between focusing on the individual and society. To him each required the other in a change process.

Recalling the frameworks reviewed in Chapter 2, it is apparent that Coady's view of liberation has aspects in common with both Dewey and the contemporary adult educator Freire. The roots of progressivism are apparent in Coady's orientation towards reflection and action in the context of problem solving and using the scientific method to create a better society within democratic values; however, Coady went farther than this by suggesting that people should create a new society. In this way, he took a radical stance although he advocated such change through participatory democracy and not through revolution. To the extent that Coady emphasized the importance of learners becoming aware of oppressive social forces, reflecting and changing their mind-set and acting to guide their own destiny, he predated aspects of Freire's approach. The similarities in the consciousness-raising methods articulated by Coady and Freire have been identified by Baum (1980:191) and studied by Armstrong (1977). Today a reexamination of Coady's ideas may help to inspire and remotivate those adult educators whose belief in adult education as a process for both personal *and* social change is waning.

The Trend Towards Professionalization

While Coady did not specifically use the words professionalization or the related concepts of bureaucratization and institutionalization, he did address these areas. He outlined how a School for Leaders enabled community leaders to direct the adult education and cooperative projects. While he criticized the traditional university institution for its inability and unwillingness to serve the masses, he recommended more flexible arrangements, which relied upon volunteers to reach the masses.

Comments have already been made earlier in this chapter regarding the dysfunctional nature of the way in which some mainstream practices in adult education are organized. Whether those most needing adult education are not reached because of the highly structured and formalized (institutional) nature or because of the fixed rules applied to programs operating within bureaucratic agencies, Coady's criticisms apply equally to both situations. Accordingly, adult educators today must critique their own practices for this defect and be prepared to create arrangments more in tune with people's cultural traditions. Given the great size of the systems and the large extent to which governmental funding is involved, change in such widespread arrangements will require that adult educators act collectively (in group action, as Coady would say) to influence decision-makers and administrators.

Regarding the current professionalization debate and the suggestions for a new model of professionalism in adult education, a number of Coady's ideas appear relevant. Undoubtedly, he believed that the major thrust of adult education should be as a social movement. Yet, within the social movement spirit he suggested the training and organization of those involved in adult education at the community level. Coady emphasized that he wanted the best methods in adult education to be at the disposal of those working within the Antigonish Movement. Again, it must be recalled that these leaders were volunteers. Thus, while Coady supported training, which is cited as one structural component of professionalism, he did so in the context of enhancing the ability of community leaders to encourage learners in bringing about change in their communities.

It would appear, in light of the structural, process, functional and attitudinal approaches to addressing professionalism, that Coady's comments do not address the aspects which emphasize the creation of an exclusive body of professional adult educators. While Coady did not express any need for enhancing the status of adult education to legitimate its role among adults he was, as a priest, already holding the status and power necessary for him to be viewed as having expertise.

Perhaps his ideas about the adult educator provide additional clues to how Coady's views relate to the present debate. His consistent reference to the importance of the adult educator's service to the community would seem at first glance to apply to the attitudinal component of professionalism. A more careful examination of his comments reveals that the themes of service, cooperation in learning, societal critique and change underscore the suggestions put forth by those authors arguing for a new model of professionalism. Elsdon's (1975) concept of ethos is particularly compatible with Coady's views. This relationship seems appropriate, recalling Elsdon's (1975:178) comment that if adult education is to become a profession it could only be of the "movement-like type."

Such a suggestion, seemingly consistent with Coady's view, provides a good basis for critical reflection for contemporary adult educators attempting to "think straight" about the situation. That the effects of the bureaucratization and institutionalization of adult education have been deleterious to those most needing it, has already been noted. That adult educators in their attempts to professionalize along traditional lines may also adversely affect community practice, is quite probable. In a scramble to obtain the structural prerequisities of a profession, adult educators may emphasize the application of only scientific standards to adult education's methods, materials and organization (as implied by Selman and Kulich, Chapter 2 of this thesis) to the exclusion of considerations of the field's historical, cultural and social context. If such a preoccupation with technical efficiency (a characteristic of this technological society) were to emerge, the danger exists that the normative considerations about adult education, that is to say the questions about its aims and philosophical orientations, would be given little attention.

Such a trend could also have the adverse consequences of producing technically professional adult educators trained to administer and conduct adult education using systems which are indifferent to the identities, language, social norms and cultural traditions of the learners. Thus the risk would exist that adult education would be removed from the community and transformed into a form which bears little resemblance to adult learning which is commonplace in the community. If, in turn, the social movement thrust of adult education were to employ "means of adult education and its wider application in the community" (Selman and Kulich, 1980:109) to improve the nature of society, then it would seem inevitable that the emphasis upon professional-technical competence would filter into the community.

Perhaps the vision of what constitutes an improvement in the nature of society would acquire an overtone of technical improvement as a consequence of solely technically competent adult educators working in the community. Can it be otherwise that the professionalization of adult education, emphasizing technical competence, would have a definite interactive effect upon the social movement trend? Indeed, it would appear that such professionalization of adult education cannot be considered to be a neutral trend which merely and temporarily shifts the focus of attention away from social movement concerns. For further discussion of this point, see A. Alexander (1983).

In summary, Coady's ideas would seem to suggest that, if professionalization is to continue to occur in adult education, care should be taken so that the field does not lose the characteristics which contributed to its success as a social movement. Coady promoted the use of the best methods in adult education and thus was supportive of the development of such scholarship and training in the field; however, Coady's underlying assumption was that such knowledge and skill would be used in service to the community. Such service would involve social critique and change and would be responsive to the community context. Thus, Coady's ideas also underscore the importance of not divorcing the issue of professionalism from considerations of the philosophies and purposes of adult education. Regarding trends towards bureaucratization and institutionalization, Coady's critique would address the issue of decreased ability to serve the adult learners most in need. Confronted with the trend towards bureaucratization, institutionalization, and professionalization, Coady would warn against becoming remote from people in their communities.

Summary

When Coady's ideas are examined in the contemporary context, they do suggest directions to be considered for adult education today. In spite of the time span between Coady's society and the present one, similarities exist regarding the problems of social inequality, apathy, and education not reaching the disadvantaged. The relevant differences between the two societies are the attitudes of adult education leaders regarding adult education's role in social change, the sociotechnological and economic changes, and their effects.

Coady's idea that adult education should unlock life for all the people suggests that contemporary adult educators should critique the field to assess the extent to which those most in need of adult education are receiving it. Accordingly, steps should be taken to improve the situation. His idea that adult education should encourage real thinking challenges adult educators to have a commitment to social change and act in a role which assists learners to reflect upon their problems in society. Lastly, Coady's idea that adult education should enable people to live fully demands that adult educators seek out ways to involve themselves in dealing with economic issues, in self-help efforts, and in encouraging greater participation of the learner in his or her community.

The meaning of liberation which underlies Coady's ideas about adult education involves the learners in personal change and in social change. His idea should give inspiration to adult educators to consider liberation at the levels of both individual and society.

Coady critiqued developments which created distance (physical or psychological) between the learners and those providing the service. In this spirit, bureaucratization and professionalization trends would be criticized and the challenge issued to develop more appropriate ways of reaching and serving learners. While Coady would encourage scholarship, he would insist that it should be used to empower the people in their communities in their tasks of personal and social change. His comments support the need for a new model of professionalism.

CHAPTER 10

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter begins with a brief summary of the study. The conclusions drawn from the study are subsequently outlined. Some observations about adult education issues which arose as a result of studying Coady's writings and the Antigonish Movement are also presented. The chapter ends by listing some recommendations for further study.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to develop an understanding of the meaning of liberation in adult education as revealed by Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement. It was anticipated that gaining an understanding about this social movement would provide a perspective for critiquing the current trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization in adult education. The main sources of data used in this study were materials written by Coady, especially his book Masters of Their Own Destiny and the book The Man from Margaree (edited by Laidlaw) which was a collection of Coady's writings and speeches.

To achieve the purpose of the study, a combination of two research methods was used. These two methods were the thematic content analysis method and the historical-critical method. This combination enabled the meaning of

Coady's ideas to be interpreted in context. Thus the study involved first identifying Coady's ideas relevant to liberation in adult education and then interpreting them. While stating this procedure in this manner may imply a linear two-staged process, such was not the case; rather, the process was an interactive one which resulted in a deeper level of understanding from the continuous interplay of ideas and their context.

The writings were thematically analyzed using an adaptation of the grounded theory method outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967). To guide the process of data collection and analysis a general focus was developed consisting of seven research questions relevant to developing an understanding of the meaning of liberation in adult education. Specifically, they addressed the meaning of adult education, the view of adults, the relationships among adults, the relationship between adults and society, the meaning of liberation, and the view of professionalization and bureaucratization/institutionalization.

Through the use of the constant comparative method of analysis, consistency in Coady's ideas was revealed. Linkages were traced among the categories which were identified through the general research focus. These linkages identified Coady's three main ideas about the meaning of liberation in adult education; specifically, that adult education should:

1. unlock life for all the people
2. involve real thinking
3. enable men to live fully.

The categories that were linked with these three main ideas served to deepen the understanding of each.

Coady's ideas about the meaning of liberation in adult education were interpreted using the historical-critical method. This method first involved researching the background of the author, the historical events of his time, and the social, cultural and religious context within which he wrote. This research enabled the researcher to move into the world of the text and thereby interpret Coady's writings in the context of what they might have meant in his time.

Briefly, his ideas would have been a challenge to the established educational system. He advocated serving the people who were most in need, whom the system had neglected. The non-traditional educational methods which Coady supported helped to free people from the self-defeating thinking in which they had engaged. Lastly, while Coady wished for people to live fully, he was unequivocal about the starting place for a full life: namely, obtaining economic justice. To this end he challenged the existing economic system by encouraging the development of the double-barrelled program of adult education and economic cooperation.

In order to interpret the directions Coady's ideas might suggest in the present society, the similarities between his society and the present one were first identified. Coady's ideas were then explored within the present context, particularly in light of the trend towards the bureaucratization and professionalization of the field and the debate about professionalism.

Coady's ideas would challenge contemporary adult educators to ensure that those most in need of adult education would receive it. His ideas would also encourage adult educators to have a commitment to social change and to use educational methods which enable learners to reflect and act in society, with a particular emphasis upon first achieving economic justice. Thus, the meaning of liberation which underlies Coady's ideas involves both learners and society in a change process.

Following from these ideas, a critique of the trends towards bureaucratization and professionalization in the field of adult education would address the issues of how and to what extent are the needs met of those most in need of adult education. Coady's ideas support the development of a basis of scholarship in the field but do so in the context of empowering learners in their communities in their pursuit of personal and social change. The need being expressed currently for a new model of professionalism, consistent with the movement-like type aspects of adult education, would find support from Coady's ideas.

Conclusions

1. Coady's meaning of liberation in adult education provides an important and useful basis for understanding the social movement dimension of adult education and for reflecting upon the current trend towards bureaucratization and professionalization in the field. The directions his ideas suggest for the present situation affirm the importance of the social movement dimension and identify the consequences of losing it. Indeed, some are already apparent. Coady's perspective is a potent antidote to complacency for those in the field wishing to proceed unreflectively towards a type of professionalism that could diminish and/or alter the social movement dimension of the adult education field.

2. The combination of thematic analysis and historical-critical methods was a complementary one which provided the necessary approach for obtaining the holistic understanding required in the study. The ideas, identified through thematic analysis (and adapted grounded theory method), when interpreted using the approach of the historical-critical method were given a contextual and deeper meaning than would otherwise have been possible.

3. The general focus of seven research questions was a useful tool for obtaining relevant data from a large volume of qualitative data. The focus helped make such data manageable while still retaining the openness and flexibility required by an interpretive study.

Related Observations

When reviewing this study of Coady's writings and the development and work of the Antigonish Movement, a number of observations were made. These observations generally dealt with features in the practice or evolution of the Antigonish Movement, and thus, were not always highlighted in the interpretive sections of the study. Nevertheless, these several points are worthy of being summarized in this concluding chapter.

1. The importance that undertaking comparative studies played in shaping the Antigonish Movement is quite evident. Both Tompkins and Coady explored the experiences of those directing adult education programs elsewhere in Canada, the United States and Europe. Through reading, attending conferences and visiting programs, Tompkins and Coady gained ideas which they later incorporated into the Antigonish Movement (e.g. extension education, cooperatives, discussion circle, folk school).

2. The fact that the Antigonish Movement pioneers did not act in isolation is also noteworthy. They formed a network which worked in concert with other groups and individuals on issues of mutual concern (e.g. Forward Movement). Such collaborative effort resulted in bringing public attention to these issues. In addition, some of the connections forged (e.g. Scottish Catholic Society) through this network served to exert community pressure upon the University to initiate the operation of the Extension Department. Then once in operation, the Extension Department worked collaboratively with other departments (e.g. agriculture) to further the adult education and cooperative work in the communities.

3. The Antigonish Movement demonstrated how community-based adult education could be promoted and especially illustrated the importance of having an "agent" (e.g. priest, teacher, community leader) in the community to animate the local people.

4. The benefit of the Antigonish Movement receiving independent funding (e.g. Carnegie Corporation) was notable in that the movement was able to continue its work of social reform in spite of the university administration's speculation about having to curtail the activities of the Extension Department. They were

considered by the administration to be a drain upon the university's budget. Clearly, the Antigonish Movement's programs of social reform could not have been self-supporting financially. The donations from the Carnegie Corporation made it possible for the Extension Department to pursue its programs without the constraint of the mandate of the university at large.

Recommendations for Future Research

1. An examination of the underlying bases of a professionalism characterized by Coady's ideas and the Antigonish Movement. The results could make a contribution to an alternative model of professionalism.

2. An examination of various approaches of adult education to deal with the problem of disadvantage.

3. An examination of various change strategies used in adult education programs and the relationship of these programs to their funding bodies.

4. An examination of the relationship between adult education and political action in attaining social change. Some critics of Coady's characterize him (and Tompkins) as having held to a "naive" belief that education can solve all problems. Conversely, such critics believe that solutions are attained through

direct involvement in the formal political process and structures. What are the limits of adult education as a vehicle for social change? Is adult education most useful as a preliminary form of preparation for political action that is later carried on through the formal political process of "party politics"? An interesting approach to this last question would be to examine the work of another social reformer, Sir William Coaker of Newfoundland. Coaker organized the Fishermen's Protective Union of Newfoundland (FPU) in 1908, envisioning the union's active arms as: "co-operative, educative, and political" (Noel, 1971:81). Translated into activities, they involved instituting consumer cooperatives, establishing a union newspaper, and sponsoring its own political party. The latter activity would provide the focus for studying an additional dimension of the change process.

A Personal Note

While in the initial stages of this research, I heard, in a radio interview, a comment which struck a responsive chord in me. That comment was something to the effect that the problem with the present is that it has no sense of the past. Having now completed this dissertation, I have a deeper understanding of that comment. In undertaking this study, I have gained a glimpse of the richness of the past as revealed by Coady's writings and other accounts of the

Antigonish Movement. While appreciating the heritage of such a vigorous adult education movement, I have also been stimulated to reflect anew upon the contemporary situation. It seems somewhat ironic to think that as modern people we often assume that we have liberated ourselves from the enslavement of past traditions and are thereby more free. Yet, while we ought to liberate ourselves from *unreflected* dependence upon past traditions, this study has shown me the importance of developing a sense of the past so that we understand why we are where we are, and reflect upon where we ought to be going.

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APPENDIX A

A Draft National Declaration on Adult Education

APPENDIX A

A Draft National Declaration on Adult Education

Fifty years ago, the Canadian Association for Adult Education declared that the adult education movement is based on the belief that quite ordinary men and women have, within themselves and their communities, the spiritual and intellectual resources adequate to the solution of their own problems.

This declaration is even more timely today. Throughout the world, gaps widen between advantaged and disadvantaged, educated and under-educated, rich and poor. The rapid pace of change, chronic unemployment, and social unrest threaten. Social justice and human liberation -- indeed survival -- are far from assured.

Adult education can enable people. It can lead to more active citizenship, personal growth, and social betterment. It can help people confront the future, as well as the present. It can help ensure that new attitudes and approaches are learned, so that the benefits of technological advance are shared by all, in an environmentally sound way. It can assist participation by those affected in economic, as well as political, decisions.

Canadians can shape their own political and economic destiny. They can influence, and not merely be influenced by, decisions affecting their own lives.

To realize this vision, adult education must become a Canadian social priority. Public adult education programs must receive adequate public support, but voluntary and private initiatives must also be valued because, for many Canadians, they are the spark and incentive for continuous learning. Informal learning in the community setting requires and deserves the support of institutions and governments.

Canada can become a society in which all citizens may learn, as workers, parents, students, consumers, community members. Canada can become a society where all citizens have access to information, where all have opportunities to live what they learn, where citizens alternate between the worlds of work, education and leisure. Canada can become a society where full social participation by women, native peoples, new Canadians, the disabled, the poor, and the unemployed, is guaranteed.

Adult education has become a worldwide movement for personal and social transformation. The Canadian

Association for Adult Education continues as a partner in this movement, to create a humane, just, and democratic society -- a learning society led by learning adults.

Source: Newsletter, Canadian Association for Adult Education, Corbett House, 29 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M5R 1B2, 1985.

APPENDIX B

Samples: Coding Beside Notes and Coding Summary

APPENDIX B

Sample: Coding Beside Notes

2-1

CODING			COADY
VIEW OF ADULTS			VIEW OF ADULTS Intro: p 17, The Great Default of the People We have begun our program of adult education and economic cooperation by dealing with human problems,
CATEGORY #	IDEA + CATEGORY	LINE	
1	default → contribute to own problems	1	and we have said frankly to the people that their situation is due mainly to their own default. If
2	of "the masses" → slaves ∵ default	2	the masses of the people have become, in a sense slaves, it is because they have not taken the steps or
1	default: not advance or change society. Mistake	3	expended the effort necessary to change society (ch.4-1) ... This is their great mistake. There is no standing still, and if the people
3	if not advance → slip backward	4	do not take the means to advance themselves, they will slip surely backwards. Let us take a lesson from the
4	exemplary man studies late	5	man in whose window a light burns late each night. He does not watch the clock or wait for a whistle. He
4	exemplary man studies w/o compulsion	6	is sufficiently interested in the advancement of his own affairs to work overtime w/o compulsion. In addition to
5	duty · study + enlightenment → create new society	7	their daily occupations, the people must put in extra work on a program of study + enlightenment in order that
		8	they may create the institutions that will enable them to obtain control of the instruments of production. Building the new
5	duty · if default, no one else will build new society	9	society is as much their business as digging coal, catching fish, or planting seed. If they do not bestir themselves to
		10	bring it about, no one else will. The only hope of democracy is that enough noble, independent, energetic souls may be found who
6	privileged ∵ democracy allows them to create new society	11	are prepared to work overtime w/o pay. Such a sacrifice is not necessary in a dictatorship; it is not even permitted. In a democracy it is
		12	the privilege of the people to work overtime in their own interests: the creation of a new society where all men are free.

APPENDIX B

Sample: Coding Summary

Summary: View of Adults

Category No.	Line	Category	Key Idea(s)
1	1	default	contribute to own problems
2	2	slaves	if "the masses" ⟶ slaves (default)
1	3	default	not advance themselves or change society. Mistake
3	4	backward slip	if not advance ⟶ slip backwards
4	5	exemplary	man studies late
4	6	exemplary	man studies without compulsion
5	7	duty	study and enlightenment ⟶ create new society
5	8	duty	study and enlightenment ⟶ create new society
5	9	duty	if default, no one else will build new society
6	10	duty	if default, no one else will build new society
6	11	privileged	because democracy allows them to create new society
6	12	privileged	because democracy allows them to create new society
7	13	mystified	by business and money
8	14	awed	thinks forces are beyond himself
8	15	awed	withdrew and left control to others
9	16	distorted view	different view exists
9	17	distorted view	distortion can be corrected

Category No.	Line	Category	Key Idea(s)
10	19	victim	needs to realize not innocent
1	20	defaulter	
11	21	delinquent	
1	22	defaulter	failed to claim rights
1	23	defaulter	unless to disown his responsibility
1	24	defaulter	situation could have been otherwise
12	25	definite attitudes	even if limited education
9	26	distorted view	of own inabilities to solve problems
13	27	escapist	human nature -- escape from annoying situation
9	28	distorted view	don't realize democratic responsibilities
9	29	distorted view	don't realize sins of omission and commission
14	30	conceit	perhaps more in lowly →l.31
9	31	distorted view	steer course of their life away from truth
15	32	Christian	rooted in proper humility, unbiased mind -- essence of scientific method (Christ & Aristotle meet)
16	33	need thinking straightened out	
16	34	need thinking straightened out	eliminate troubles
16	35	need thinking straightened out	need kinks ironed out of mind
17	36	capable of greatness	can do 10 times what they think they can
9	37	distorted view	re capabilities - old mind set
9	38	distorted view	that masses inferior

Category No.	Line	Category	Key Idea(s)
9	39	distorted view	view of inferiority became tradition. Needs more than few study clubs for correction
18	40	discontent	can be produced by study clubs ⟶ new thought pattern
17	41	capable	do not need to be remade
17	42	capable	have ideals
19	43	needs remotivation	not need remade but remotivated
19	44	needs remotivation	needs mechanisms to release energies
17	45		people devoted to intangibles capable of building new world
17	46		possibilities there but not recognized until actuality
20	47	needs model	needs to be shown
20	48	needs model	prone to wait for demonstration (though has intellect)
21	49	civilized	index - what do voluntarily
17	50	capable	of having attitudes and thinking changed for the better
17	51	capable	being worker, student, etc.
22	52	potential student	all are
19	53	motivation	solve pressing problems ⟶ spur on to others
23	54	needs	basic needs must be met
24	57	social beings	finds best expression in groups
17	60	capable	find new ways to solve problems

Category No.	Line	Category	Key Idea(s)
19	61	motivation	by concrete results (credit union) rather than visionary
19	62	motivation	
22	63	learner	best when interests keenest
19	63	motivation	needs determine interests (esp. economic)
19	66	motivation	study for study sake too much in the beginning
19	67	motivation	interest aroused by presenting problems
19	68	motivation	interest aroused by everyday problems
19	69	motivation	not aroused by hypothetical cases
22	71	learner	enjoy sense of accomplishment → greater achievement
19	72	motivation	achievement important
19	73	motivation	achievement from operating successful enterprises
19	74	motivation	achievement from results of thinking
19	75	motivation	achievement good
19	76	motivation	rewarded economically for thinking
19	77	motivation	for new success
19	78	motivation	seek new successes
19	79	motivation	leads to acquiring culture
19	80	motivation	is the way man works
19	82	motivation	satisfy realism → idealist
19	86	motivation	Antigonish Movement's experience is evidence
25	93	cultured	generally wealthy
25	94	cultured	masses lack economic resources to develop it

Category No.	Line	Category	Key Idea(s)
25	97	cultured	cultural gain result from wise use of time
17	104	capable	human mind have impressive thoughts, dreams and visions
17	105	capable	highest flights of mind patterned by manipulation of abstract from material
22	109	learner	learn from material ⟶ abstract
17	110	capable	dip into cultural fields
17	112	capable	acquire rich content
17	116	capable	needs to be given a chance (by educators) to express himself
19	116	motivation	economic worries settled ⟶ devote self to culture
17	117	capable	can create new culture
17	118	capable	raised to new levels
26	120	rugged individualism	robbed others of individualism
10	123	victim	vulnerable, needs stimulation (or will become fat, lazy, stupid)
27	124	religiously-minded	further cause of humanity
27	125	religiously-minded	charity, honesty, courage ⟶ dare to change cruel system
27	126	religiously-minded	adopt good
27	127	religiously-minded	courageous, faithful, speak truth
27	128	religiously-minded	help reform capitalism

Category No.	Line	Category	Key Idea(s)
27	129	religiously-minded	cannot compromise on economic question
28	131	characteristics	evil, prone to demand pound of flesh
28	132	characteristics	individual differences - not all made for highly-competitive society
28	134	characteristics	marvellous power to recuperate
27	135	religiously-minded	take seriously duty to needy neighbour
28	136	characteristics	innate charity of man
26	138	rugged individualism	vested interests, try to keep masses down
26	140	rugged individualism	hunt and punch
28	143	characteristics	slow to accept greater truths
28	144	characteristics	prone to accept the easy way out
28	145	characteristics	greed and mental sloth
28	148	characteristics	inability to see big picture
28	149	characteristics	inability to see big picture
26	150	rugged individualism	scorn for attempts of masses
26	151	rugged individualism	scorn for attempts of masses
26	152	rugged individualism	scorn for attempts of masses
26	153	rugged individualism	scorn for attempts of masses
28	154	characteristics	born to love not hate
28	154	characteristics	caught in vicious system
28	155	characteristics	without vision, people perish
9	156	distorted view	no vision without enlightenment

Category No.	Line	Category	Key Idea(s)
28	157	characteristics	skeptical, not see connection between
28	158	characteristics	thinking and affairs of life
17	159	capable	of being wholly balanced

APPENDIX C

Charts of Coady's Ideas

Organization of Charts

The following seven charts are organized as follows:

Themes are identified by capital letters.

Categories are identified by numbers.

Properties are identified by lower-case letters.

e.g. A. Theme
    1. Category
        a. property

APPENDIX C

Chart 1: Meaning of Adult Education

A. Role (historically) of Education

1. Instrument which Creates Classes in Society

    a. exit and escape to desirable jobs (measured in economic return)
    b. not interested in great masses left behind

B. Role (Normative) of Adult Education

1. Instrument to Unlock Life for All the People

    a. ignorance: cause of most evils, poverty and helplessness
    b. necessity:
        i. people have lost opportunities, vision
        ii. people exposed to propaganda and pressure from interested groups
    c. mobilize people to attack problems confronting them

2. Encourages Real Thinking, Straight Thinking

    a. result: ability to think, original thinking on own account
    b. scientific thinking: means straight thinking

3. Enable Man to Live Fully

    a. full life: gradual realization of human potentialities (physical, economic, institutional, cultural, and spiritual)
    b. enlightenment enable people to get vision of possibilities and realize possibilities
    c. good and abundant life to all:
        i. everyone get fair share of material wealth
        ii. then rise to levels more artistic

Chart 2: View of Adults

A. Historical Role

1. Defaulters (the Masses)
    - a. failed to claim rights; lost control
    - b. could have prevented problems
2. Rugged Individualists
    - a. robbed others of individualism
    - b. vested interests scorn masses

B. Present and Future Role (Normative)

1. Common Citizens in Democracy
    - a. exercise freedoms, enlighten oneself create new society
2. Religiously-minded Man
    - a. change cruel system, reform capitalism
    - b. proper humility, unbiased mind, virtues

C. General Characteristics

1. Descriptive
    - a. spiritual and material: indivisible
    - b. social being, individual differences
2. Evaluative
    - a. desirable
        - i. innate charity, mind capable of impressive thoughts
    - b. undesirable
        - i. has urges to wealth and power
        - ii. slow to accept greater truths
    - c. ideal
        - i. physically fit, mentally alert, morally right

D. Common Man

  1. Capable

    a. of greatness but need remotivation

  2. Holds Distorted View

    a. of own abilities ⟶ feel incapable

  3. As Learner

    a. potential
      i. all are potential learners
    b. motivation
      i. meet basic needs first ⟶ new successes
    c. process
      i. needs model, demonstration
      ii. group learning best

Chart 3: Relationship Among Adults

A. Historical Relationship

  1. Some Relinquished Consumer Rights

    a. left control to others; masses busy surviving ⟶ lost vision

  2. Enterprising Crowd Serviced Others

    a. business ⟶ unilateral contract; entrenched individual enterprise

B. Present Relationship

  1. The Poor

    a. discouraged, frustrated, hopeless (overawed by corporations)

C. Group Action

  1. Definition

    a. great change wave

2. Necessity

   a. for masses to get control of economic processes
   b. inevitable evolution from individualism

D. Antigonish Movement

1. Role of Extension Workers

   a. mobilized community people for action
      i. mass meeting
      ii.study groups

2. Role of Community Leaders

   a. aroused interest in community

3. Role of Learners

   a. participate under own power
   b. involved in learning and action

E. Role of Adult Educators

1. General Principles

   a. create conditions to motivate people for learning and action
   b. criticize conditions in society
   c. build up people and develop leaders

F. Ideal Relationship Among Adults

1. Principles

   a. right reason, charity and justice
   b. masses rise to level to operate economic and political machinery

2. Programs

   a. adult education and cooperation (democratic way)

Chart 4: Relationship of Adults to Society

A. Historical Relationship

1. Over-service ⟶ loss of dignity of ordinary man's function
2. Educational Skimming Process ⟶ class distinctions

B. Normative Relationship (present and future): Change Society

1. Imperative
   - a. civilization and change not attainable if people servile and passive
   - b. task/responsibility of ordinary adult
2. Means
   - a. program
     - i. adult education and cooperation
     - ii. liberal education to prepare people for economic, social and cultural development
   - b. principles
     - i. reform requires people in group action (charity insufficient)
     - ii. educating for reform requires strong belief in common man
   - c. philosophy
     - i. integrated philosophy; ethics of Sermon on the Mount
3. End
   - a. social justice; new democratic society
   - b. creation of people's own institutions; control
4. Reformers/Reformed
   - a. be intolerant of bad conditions

C. Relationship in Present Democratic Society

1. Ideal
   - a. rule of the people

2. Present
    a. not ideal - people do not rule fully (lack economic democracy)

3. Resistance to Change
    a. vested interests (powerful) and allies

D. Relationship in Ideal Society

1. General Characteristics
    a. organic, interdependent, active participants

2. Cooperation
    a. provides people with some economic independence and opportunity to change society

Chart 5: Meaning of Liberation

A. Change Society So All Are Free

1. Obtain Control
    a. of economic processes
    b. use own power to shape own destiny

2. Creation
    a. of economic institutions, service agencies, social structure
    b. of new opportunities

3. Group Action
    a. effective for gaining control
    b. cooperatives (economic group action)
    c. educators/leaders must organize this

B. Freedom

1. Characteristics

a. society where all free, social justice
b. people involved in freeing themselves economically; later free spiritually

2. Rights

a. reclaim rights (economic) → save himself
b. no one can justly prevent reclaiming

3. Democratic Society

a. allows people to create new society

C. Self-Change

1. Use Potential

a. use intellect for destiny endowed (mechanical unit → thinker)

2. Use Initiative

a. change and improve self → fulfil possibilities in society

3. Live Fully

a. be creative, explore

Chart 6: Professionalization

A. Training of Leaders

1. Need

a. demonstrated by difficulties confronting leaders, mistakes made and needing remediation
b. for direction of adult education work and management of various economic activities being set up
c. leaders were required with more than average education, with vision and executive ability

2. Purpose
    a. train men and women to direct the social and economic endeavours of rural and industrial workers
    b. provide inspiration

3. Method
    a. school for leaders organized as a miniature society to confront people with difficulties in the field
    b. demonstrated study and discussion group techniques, theory and instruments

4. Result
    a. participants went forth with zeal and a flair for work

B. Organization of Adult Education

1. Need
    a. to maintain vigorous movement
    b. to deal with lack of concentrated population

2. Structures
    a. autonomous regional adult education associations
    b. federation of regional associations become a national organization

Chart 7: Bureaucratization/Institutionalization

A. Defect of Traditional University

1. Widened Gulf
    a. likely widened gulf between masses who couldn't attend and fortunate minority who attend and use universities for own economic, social and political advantage

2. Ties of Universities to Vested Interests

   a. larger, privately endowed universities so closely tied -- unable to do St. F.X. type of adult education
   b. in larger universities progressive professors must continue to perform more respectable and less offensive function than St. F.X. adult education
   c. universities get power and prestige by allying themselves with socially elite and financially powerful -- reinforce false modesty of masses
   d. universities have been mixed up with capitalist system and social elite: perhaps because of fear of non-survival financially

3. Hindrances to Promoting St. F.X. Type Adult Education

   a. ties to vested interests
   b. willing sponsors unsure of loyalty of people (masses) themselves in supporting program

B. Forms Responsive to S. F. X. Type Adult Education

1. Small Colleges Have Great Opportunity

2. State Universities Will Find a New Outlet as People Make Demands on Them

3. Voluntary Agencies Can Make Great Contribution

4. Recommended Organization

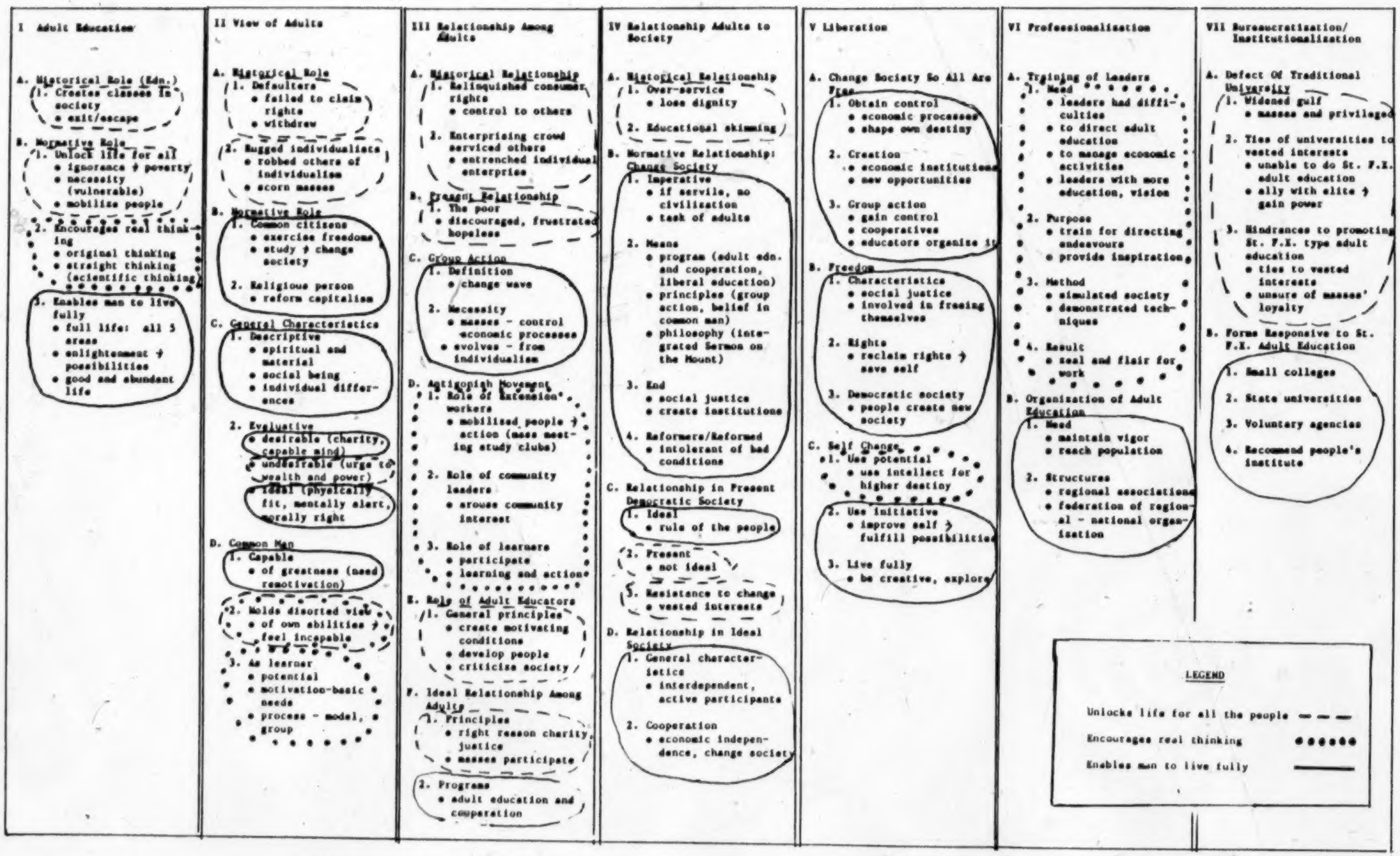
   a. people's research institute, owned and financed by people themselves

APPENDIX D

Tracing Linkages

APPENDIX D

Tracing Linkages



I Adult Education

- A. Historical Role (Edn.)
  - 1. Creates classes in society
    - exit/escape
- B. Normative Role
  - 1. Unlock life for all
    - ignorance → poverty
    - necessity (vulnerable)
    - mobilize people
  - 2. Encourages real thinking
    - original thinking
    - straight thinking (scientific thinking)
  - 3. Enables man to live fully
    - full life: all 5 areas
    - enlightenment → possibilities
    - good and abundant life

II View of Adults

- A. Historical Role
  - 1. Defaulters
    - failed to claim rights
    - withdrew
  - 2. Rugged individualists
    - robbed others of individualism
    - scorn masses
- B. Normative Role
  - 1. Common citizens
    - exercise freedoms
    - study → change society
  - 2. Religious person
    - reform capitalism
- C. General Characteristics
  - 1. Descriptive
    - spiritual and material
    - social being
    - individual differences
  - 2. Evaluative
    - desirable (charity, capable mind)
    - undesirable (urge to wealth and power)
    - ideal (physically fit, mentally alert, morally right
- D. Common Man
  - 1. Capable
    - of greatness (need remotivation)
  - 2. Holds distorted view
    - of own abilities → feel incapable
  - 3. As learner
    - potential
    - motivation-basic needs
    - process - model, group

III Relationship Among Adults

- A. Historical Relationship
  - 1. Relinquished consumer rights
    - control to others
  - 2. Enterprising crowd serviced others
    - entrenched individual enterprise
- B. Present Relationship
  - 1. The poor
    - discouraged, frustrated hopeless
- C. Group Action
  - 1. Definition
    - change wave
  - 2. Necessity
    - masses - control economic processes
    - evolves - from individualism
- D. Antigonish Movement
  - 1. Role of Extension workers
    - mobilized people → action (mass meeting study clubs)
  - 2. Role of community leaders
    - arouse community interest
  - 3. Role of learners
    - participate
    - learning and action
- E. Role of Adult Educators
  - 1. General principles
    - create motivating conditions
    - develop people
    - criticize society
- F. Ideal Relationship Among Adults
  - 1. Principles
    - right reason charity, justice
    - masses participate
  - 2. Programs
    - adult education and cooperation

IV Relationship Adults to Society

- A. Historical Relationship
  - 1. Over-service
    - lose dignity
  - 2. Educational skimming
- B. Normative Relationship: Change Society
  - 1. Imperative
    - if servile, no civilization
    - task of adults
  - 2. Means
    - program (adult edn. and cooperation, liberal education)
    - principles (group action, belief in common man)
    - philosophy (integrated Sermon on the Mount)
  - 3. End
    - social justice
    - create institutions
  - 4. Reformers/Reformed
    - intolerant of bad conditions
- C. Relationship in Present Democratic Society
  - 1. Ideal
    - rule of the people
  - 2. Present
    - not ideal
  - 3. Resistance to change
    - vested interests
- D. Relationship in Ideal Society
  - 1. General characteristics
    - interdependent, active participants
  - 2. Cooperation
    - economic independence, change society

V Liberation

- A. Change Society So All Are Free
  - 1. Obtain control
    - economic processes
    - shape own destiny
  - 2. Creation
    - economic institutions
    - new opportunities
  - 3. Group action
    - gain control
    - cooperatives
    - educators organize it
- B. Freedom
  - 1. Characteristics
    - social justice
    - involved in freeing themselves
  - 2. Rights
    - reclaim rights → save self
  - 3. Democratic society
    - people create new society
- C. Self Change
  - 1. Use potential
    - use intellect for higher destiny
  - 2. Use initiative
    - improve self → fulfill possibilities
  - 3. Live fully
    - be creative, explore

VI Professionalization

- A. Training of Leaders
  - 1. Need
    - leaders had difficulties
    - to direct adult education
    - to manage economic activities
    - leaders with more education, vision
  - 2. Purpose
    - train for directing endeavours
    - provide inspiration
  - 3. Method
    - simulated society
    - demonstrated techniques
  - 4. Result
    - zeal and flair for work
- B. Organization of Adult Education
  - 1. Need
    - maintain vigor
    - reach population
  - 2. Structures
    - regional associations
    - federation of regional - national organization

VII Bureaucratization/ Institutionalization

- A. Defect Of Traditional University
  - 1. Widened gulf
    - masses and privileged
  - 2. Ties of universities to vested interests
    - unable to do St. F.X. adult education
    - ally with elite → gain power
  - 3. Hindrances to promoting St. F.X. type adult education
    - ties to vested interests
    - unsure of masses' loyalty
- B. Forms Responsive to St. F.X. Adult Education
  - 1. Small colleges
  - 2. State universities
  - 3. Voluntary agencies
  - 4. Recommend people's institute

LEGEND

Unlocks life for all the people — — —
Encourages real thinking ●●●●●●
Enables man to live fully ———

APPENDIX E

St. Francis Xavier University
Extension Department: Educational Activities

APPENDIX E

St. Francis Xavier University

Extension Department:

Educational Activities

High School and College Credit Type

a. Short courses - cultural and vocational, such as, Agricultural, Home Economics, Historical, etc. - in college and in field.
b. Short courses for selected men and women with a view to developing rural and industrial leaders.
c. Correspondence - vocational and cultural.
d. Study clubs in rural and industrial fields.
f. The development of technical schools and folk schools.
g. Night schools.

Non-Credit Type

a. All of the foregoing activities.
b. General lectures.
c. Lending books to Study Clubs, 25 Travelling Libraries, Home Reading Clubs.
d. Giving information through letters, circulars, pamphlets, etc.
e. Establishing circulating libraries.
f. Visual education service - lending films, slides, art collections, exhibits.
g. Publishing an Extension bulletin.
h. Organizing (1) Country-wide debates on vital topics, essay and public speaking competitions. (2) Planning programs for Community Centres. (3) Rural community and town improvement competitions. (4) Debating Clubs, Literary, Art and Dramatic Clubs, Recreational Clubs.

(Through some of these educational agencies young men and women of exceptional talent may be discovered, and assisted through scholarships.)

Source: Laidlaw (1961:71-72)

APPENDIX F

Sources of Coady's Writings

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Sources of Coady's Writings

1. Radio Broadcast Series

   Life in These Maritimes (began Oct. 1945)

2. Newspaper/Journal

   Halifax Chronicle-Herald, Bulletin of Nova Scotia Teachers' Union, The Canadian Nurse, The Canadian Register, The Canadian Messenger, Culture, The Maritime Cooperator (On the Anvil series) also foreward to Wood, Hay and Stubble by Dr. George Murphy.

3. Speeches

   National Convention of the Canadian Home and School Federation (Halifax), Canadian Library Association (Winnipeg), United Nations Conference on Conservation and Utilization of Resources (New York), American Association for Adult Education (Cleveland), Cooperative League USA (Chicago), National Conference of Canadian Universities (Antigonish), Home Economics Association of Nova Scotia, Convention of United Maritime Fishermen (Amherst), Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture, Opening of the Qu'Appelle Valley Centre (Sask.), Presidential Address - Canadian Association for Adult Education (Ottawa), St. Francis Xavier University Commencement, Catholic Women's League, Rural and Industrial Conference (Nova Scotia), Young Christian Workers of Australia, Group Health Association (St. Paul, Minnesota), first Mass of Rev. D. MacDonald, additional speeches -- Madison, Wisconsin; St. John's, Nfld.; Shediac, New Brunswick; Sydney, Nova Scotia.

4. Letters

   E. R. Bowen (US), Leonard W. Fraser (Nova Scotia's Conservative Leader 1942), Rev. John H. MacDonald, Rev. F. J. Smyth (Canadian Catholic Conference), United Farmers of Ontario, Rev. Foote, Rev. M. Gillis, Rev. Costello, Bishop John R. MacDonald, and a sketch written for his niece "Coal Mining in Cape Breton."

Compiled from: The Man from Margaree (ed. Laidlaw, 1971)